

# THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

On Monday next Grover Cleveland will descend, from what all things considered is probably the most powerful political office in the world, to the level of a private American citizen. Ordinarily this must be a bitter change, for to elevate a man to such a position only to deprive him of it at the end of a few years, is a cruelty to the individual, whatever it may be for the state. It is not merely the vulgar lust for power, but all the better impulses of his nature, that must prompt a man once president of the American republic to desire a second term. The feeling that he could with renewed opportunities avoid mistakes that have been made, and improve occasions that have been neglected, must be strong with the man who has served one term as president in proportion to the elevation of his character and the purity and nobility of his motives. And this must be especially strong with a man who has grown in the presidential chair as Grover Cleveland has. Nevertheless it is probable that no American president ever passed into private life at the end of a four years' term with a clearer conscience and a lighter heart than Mr. Cleveland will have next Monday. He is entitled to feel that if he is not to be president for the next four years it is because he has preferred to the presidency something higher than the presidency—the part of a man determined to do his duty at any personal cost. For this he deserves and will carry into his retirement such a meed of respect, such a measure of influence, among his fellow citizens as have never been accorded to any but the greatest of his predecessors, and he may well live to find that his power for good has been increased, not diminished, by the defeat that now retires him to private life.

The greatest defect of Mr. Cleveland as a political leader seems to have arisen from the excess of a good quality. When, with noble disregard of his own political fortunes, he sent in his anti-protection message, he should have grasped his thistle firmly, and should have exerted his whole influence to force his party into an aggressive fight. When, to use Mr. Pentecost's simile, he slapped the fetish of protection in the face, he ought to have followed up the insult by a blow with clenched fist and all his force, and ought to have driven out of the ranks of his following fetish worshipers in all their degrees.

Had Mr. Cleveland used his influence to prevent the nomination of Hill in New York, had he insisted on having the

national committee in the hands of men certain to fight protection honestly and earnestly, in all human probability what has been defeat would have been victory. This, however, he did not do—partly, perhaps, because he himself had not fully emerged from the twilight of the protectionist superstition, and still more, perhaps, because of the feeling that a president ought not to interfere in politics to gain himself a second term. The consequence was that in the most important state in the Union he was traded off in the house of his professed political friends, and that the management of a national campaign that was in reality a free trade struggle was given into the hands of men who were protectionists first and democrats afterwards.

Thus what should have been an aggressive campaign was for the most part converted into an apologetic and defensive one, and democratic speakers and papers that ought to have been devoting all their time and all their strength to exposing the wickedness and absurdity of protection, were occupied in explaining that they were not free traders and that the democratic party did not propose to abolish protection, and did not propose even to reduce it enough to lower wages! That men were thus kept in the party who otherwise would have been driven out of it is undeniable, but that the net result was a weakening of the president's strength is even more clear. This minimizing of the issue left old party prejudices free to work among men who on a square issue between free trade and protection would have been impelled to the support of the free trade candidate; and while Mr. Cleveland got the full strength of the protectionist opposition he failed to utilize in full strength free trade enthusiasm.

It is the fashion of Democrats to speak of there not having been time to educate the people on the tariff question, and this was the ground on which Mr. Farquhar urged the President not to send in his tariff message. But the real truth is that the democratic leaders themselves were not educated and that the attempt to educate the masses of the people was not fairly made. The single tax men who supported Cleveland were the only ones who really attempted it. And the reason of that among the workmen of the cities there were democratic gains, while among the farmers of the country there were democratic losses, was not that the farmers were more wedded to protectionism than the workingmen of the towns and cities, but that in the single tax propaganda there had been, among the latter an active free trade agency at work, while among the farmers there was no thorough-going attack on protection even during the campaign. The democratic speakers that were sent to them were of the apologetic order, and the democratic literature that was distributed among them in such quantities was merely of the five-per-cent reduction sort. No man abandons a theory he has long and as a matter of habit entertained, on a question of percentages. If you want to break a protectionist away from his idols you must aim at making him a free trader.

Mr. Cleveland's devotion to "civil service reform" undoubtedly weakened his strength as a political leader, without gaining him any more than a small and

half-hearted support from those who profess to regard it as the most important of governmental improvements. When he made the promises about not seeking reelection, and with regard to appointments to office, he had probably never paid any attention to the tariff question, and had no idea that he would be called on to head the fight for that far more important civil service reform which consists in abolishing unnecessary offices. But he held to these pledges bravely, though they hampered and weakened him in his own party without bringing him strength from the other. In the light of the larger views to which he had risen and of the larger struggle in which he had become engaged, he might well have been excused had he abandoned them, but if in this he made a political error, it was an error on the side of good.

Mr. Cleveland's administration has not been an ideal democratic administration. Yet it has not only been a good and honest one as administrations go, but it has been made illustrious by the beginning of a great movement for the bringing back of the government to the principles of Thomas Jefferson. And this movement has not really been retarded by Mr. Cleveland's defeat. On the contrary, the sequel will probably show that it has been much accelerated. Protection now has full course, and though tariff reform may be delayed, tariff abolition will come all the quicker. Having placed himself at the head of the anti-protection movement as president, Mr. Cleveland does not lose his influence by a defeat that, while it retires him to private life, makes that movement more determined. If he is willing to lead forward, he still may lead. He is yet in the prime of life, he is fairly started on the right road, and great days are coming! Let him go on.

As President Cleveland goes out and President Harrison comes in, it might be worth while for the American people to ask themselves what is the use of a President anyhow. Switzerland gets along without a president, and gets along well. Our presidency was but a substitute for the English crown, and in England the crown has ceased to be anything at all but a mere expensive legal fiction, while in all the important English colonies the governor, instead of being an actual executive, is little if anything more than an expensive and powerless representative of an expensive and powerless crown. Why should we not abolish our imitation of royalty? Why should not the American republic also have a responsible government, and get along without the friction of recurring presidential elections, which are at best but a clumsy way of expressing the will of the people on the only questions on which any expression of their will is necessary—matters of legislation?

Daniel J. M. O'Callaghan of this city in writing to THE STANDARD says:

I think the term "single tax" misleading and indefinite. It is also, I think, a serious obstacle to the progress of the reform, clashing with the prejudices of many (such as protectionists) and unnecessarily provoking hostility. I prefer the expression land rent tax. It is common to speak of house rent, meaning the rent of a house; and of ground rent, meaning the rent of the ground on which a building is located. Why cannot the expression land rent be used to mean something else, namely, the rent of land, exclusive of buildings and improvements? Land rent tax seems to be the best expression to describe our tax reform,

since the meaning can be easily explained in a few words, if in fact the expression itself, which appears to be novel, would not suggest the exact meaning. It is not expedient, it seems to me, for the new movement to identify itself, even by its name, so closely with free trade as to create the impression that the tax reform has any necessary relation to or connection with free trade. Free trade or no free trade, we should have the land rent tax; and all who favor that reform should be encouraged to work together, without regard to their opinions on minor questions, such as free trade or protection.

The term single tax does not really express all that a perfect name would convey. It only suggests the fiscal side of our aims. And in reality the single tax is not a tax at all. But it is a tax in form, and the term is useful as suggesting method. Before we adopted this name, people, even intelligent people, insisted on believing that we proposed to divide land up; and many a time have I met a man who after informing me that he had read "Progress and Poverty," and was familiar with my ideas, would continue: "But what I don't understand is, how, after you have once divided land up equally, you propose to keep it divided." Since we have used the term single tax this sort of misinterpretation seems to have almost entirely disappeared, and I think no little of the great progress we have made is owing to the fact that in our name we have kept before the public the idea that the practical measures we proposed consisted simply of a reform in taxation.

Not only is single tax to my mind preferable to the term land rent tax as linking us to those great Frenchmen, ahead of their time, who, over a century ago, proposed the *impôt unique* as the great means for solving social problems and doing away with poverty, but that it far more fully expresses our aim. What we want to do is not merely to impose a certain kind of a tax, but to get rid of other taxes. Our proper name, if it would not seem too high flown, would be "freedom men," or "liberty men," or "natural order men," for it is on establishing liberty, on removing restrictions, on giving natural order full play, and not on any mere fiscal change that we base our hopes of social reconstruction.

We are indeed the abolitionists of this later time, and it was not without reason that I had the great pleasure on Friday last of seeing the veteran Parker Pillsbury present at the meeting which William Lloyd Garrison and myself addressed in Tremont temple, Boston, and of hearing him speak of our cause as a continuation of that to which he gave his early manhood and prime. For we are abolitionists, not merely in that we aim at the extension of human freedom, but in that our methods consist of abolishing restrictions, not of creating new machinery.

This idea is more fully expressed in the term single tax than it would be in land rent tax or any other such phrase. We want as few taxes as possible, as little restraint as is conformable to that perfect law of liberty which will allow each individual to do what he pleases without infringement of the equal right of others.

For my part I am tolerant of protectionists, for I cannot but remember that I was a protectionist once myself, and in so far as protectionists will go with us in abolishing taxes upon personal property and improvements and bringing state



taxation entirely on the value of land, I wish to work with them. But I should think it a mistake of policy as well as of principle, to in any way alter the presentation of our cause so as to conform to their prejudices. What we, as advocates of liberty, as defenders of equal rights, as followers of Thomas Jefferson, have most to contend with is the protective spirit—the notion that men have to be governed and paternalized rather than given freedom; the notion that the conditions of the poor can be improved by charity and the status of labor made more tolerable by benevolence, when the truth is that all that is needed is justice. And to bring the masses of workingmen to our views, all that is really necessary for us to do is to break up in their minds the protective superstition.

Here is an illustration of how protective ideas befoget men:

Speaking of the failure of the New York car drivers' strike, the Journal of United Labor declares that the day of the strike is past, and that the sooner workingmen recognize that fact and devise other methods for righting their wrongs and redressing their grievances the better for all concerned. This is as true as true can be. But when it comes to devising other methods the Journal of United Labor seems utterly at sea. All it has to propose is the establishment of boards of arbitration and the reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day with the establishment of a minimum rate of wages and the prohibition of working over time.

The Journal says:

Within twenty-four hours after the strike was inaugurated twenty thousand men were seeking for an opportunity to take the strikers' places, and there were thousands more who were quite as anxious for the work, but too manly to seek it to the detriment of their fellows. And while this condition of affairs exists in our large industrial centers strikes cannot be successful, except in trades requiring a high grade of skill.

Reduce the hours of labor to eight per day, and establish a minimum rate of wages. Attach a penalty for working overtime, and give an opportunity to labor to the vast army of industrious idle men who flood the larger American cities at the present time. This would render strikes unnecessary, as an employer would think twice before allowing his work to stop when he did not know where to look for men. The employer reaps all the benefit of the competition in labor under present methods. And while the hours of labor remain at ten or more per day there will continue to be two idle men looking for every vacant job, and under such circumstances, no matter how righteous their cause, the employees will suffer defeat at the hands of the corporation every time they measure strength, provided the latter are disposed to fight and willing to put up with temporary inconvenience.

What vitiates all the thinking and all the teaching of the men in the leadership of the Knights of Labor is the virus of protectionism. The Journal sees that what stands in the way of raising the wages of the men who are at work is the fact that there are great numbers of men who cannot get work. But so accustomed is it to look on work as a precious thing that must be preserved and increased by government that it actually proposes penal laws for preventing men from working as much as they want to in order to enable other men to get work. It is as if one in a suffocating room instead of proposing to open the windows and let air in, should demand that a limit be put on men's breathing so that what air there was should go round.

The Journal of United Labor is doing good work for the Australian ballot system, and General Master Workman Powderly, in his journeying through the country, is very profitably drawing attention to this great reform, which is the needed preliminary to all political action for the redress of labor's wrongs.

At Cincinnati Mr. Powderly was inter-

viewed. The interviewer asked him whether he believed in the single tax. He replied:

To a certain extent, yes. I do not believe any man has the right to own 500,000 acres of land. It gives him too much power over the government. Nor do I think land should be held for speculative purposes unless it is taxed. Let me illustrate: I bought a lot on the outskirts of Scranton, in the midst of several acres of land, a few years ago, for \$900, and built my house. Six months after that a friend wanted to buy a lot and it cost him \$1,200. "But Mr. Powderly only paid \$900," he expostulated. Yes; but, then, there is a house here now. Mine was the only house in the neighborhood. Now, it was my labor that improved that property. Since then a few other houses have been built, and the lots are now on sale for \$2,000. The owner of this land never put a spade into it. He is taxed by the acre, while we are taxed by the lot. We pay \$10 to his forty cents. That is robbery; upheld, it is true, by the law, but none the less robbery. I am a single tax man in so far as I believe in a law to remedy this evil. And it will come, it must come, for there is a popular clamor for it.

If Mr. Powderly is a single tax man only to a certain extent, it is evidently to an extent that is enabling him to do excellent single tax work.

Whatever may be the case with others, the single tax free traders who went to the Chicago tariff reform convention have reason to be pleased. The word single-tax was not uttered by a single one of us, until at the banquet following the convention, Louis F. Post made, by request, a single tax speech. But so close is the connection between the single tax and free trade, that the moment it was proposed to adopt free trade resolutions the single tax was in the air, and men who have been posing as the most advanced anti-protectionists, became suddenly horrified at the thought of doing without custom houses.

A most valuable educational work was done in the Chicago convention, and it is certain that many mere tariff reformers were made free traders, and many mere free traders were made single tax men. Nor is the effect confined to those present; or to Chicago. It will radiate all through the west.

The rejection of that part of the resolution declaring for the same freedom of trade between this and other countries as exists between our American states was not tantamount to a declaration in favor of mere tariff reform as against free trade. Free trade, absolute free trade, remains hard and fast in the resolution as drawn up by Mr. Bowker, and adopted by the convention. What else is the assertion that the right to freely exchange his labor and the products of his labor is a natural right of man? Nor yet was there anything to show that the viva voce vote of what was virtually a Chicago mass meeting was really in favor of striking out this clause, except the quick decision of the chairman. The free traders had sufficiently gained their point to think it not worth while to bring the matter up again.

This Chicago convention shows what the future course of our politics is to be. The same debate that went on there will ere long be going on in every democratic convention. The radical spirit has been roused and the demand for tariff reform is steadily and rapidly passing into the demand for free trade—not "British free trade," with a tariff for revenue only, but "American free trade," with no more custom houses around our coasts and borders than exist on the lines that separate our states.

I am certainly not a Randall democrat, nor yet a protectionist, but if I was a member of the house I should vote for the Randall bill to abolish the internal tax on tobacco if I could not vote for a bill to abolish the whole internal revenue. I should prefer a reduc-

tion of the tariff to a reduction of the internal revenue, but so long as that cannot be obtained it is a good thing to strike at the lesser of two evils. The reduction of the revenue from internal sources will help protectionists to keep up the tariff, but the higher they make the tariff the stronger will be the demand for its utter abolition.

The confession of Pigott and the utter breaking down of the case of the Times is an event of the very highest importance, for it probably marks the culmination of the struggle that Parnell and his fellows have been so long conducting, the final and decisive victory in the contest that has gone on for centuries for Irish rights and independence. The effect upon English public opinion must be enormous, and it is difficult to see how the tory government can longer continue to hold power. And with the breakdown of tory coercion in Ireland comes the great struggle for natural rights, in which the democracies of the three kingdoms will be united. Events are moving fast on the other side of the water.

I sail for Southampton on Saturday in pursuance of my promise to our friends in England to come over for three months and do what I could to help them. I shall speak first in Camberwell on the 13th of March, and after that, if I can judge from the partial list of engagements which has been sent to me, I shall be speaking in the three kingdoms and in Wales almost continuously. I hope to be back here about the middle or end of July, and a little later will endeavor to accept the many invitations to speak in this country which I have been compelled to decline. While abroad I shall write to THE STANDARD every week. HENRY GEORGE.

## THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

### A LARGE GATHERING OF REPRESENTATIVE MEN.

**Protection Roundly Denounced, but Free Trade Causes a Wail From the Revenue Reformers—The Single Tax Could Not be Kept Out.**

The tariff reform convention called by the Chicago tariff reform club was held in that city on the 19th, 20th and 21st days of February. The local attendance was large, including regular delegates from the tariff reform club, the Iroquois club and other Chicago organizations, besides every individual who chose to regard himself as a constituent part of the convention. From the south and southwest there was a fair attendance of representative men, as there was also from the northwest outside of Chicago. Among the more prominent delegates from states other than Illinois and the eastern states, were ex-Governor Morton of Nebraska, Judge Galloway of Kansas, ex-Governor Buckner of Kentucky, Aretas Thomas of Texas, Howe Paige of Minnesota and Bolton Smith of Tennessee. Hugh O. Pentecost went from the single tax club of Brooklyn; Herbert Boggs from the single tax club of New Jersey; Read Gordon as a protected manufacturer from New York; August Lewis, A. Van Deusen and Louis F. Post from the Manhattan single tax club of New York; Thomas G. Shearman, William T. Croasdale, Calvin Tompkins, W. H. Page and Horace White from the reform club of New York; Henry George, R. R. Bowker, John Codman, Lawrence Dunham and Jas. Gaunt from the New York free trade club; and C. S. Hopkins, from the single tax club of Syracuse.

Most of the delegates from the east left the Grand Central depot in New York by the 6 o'clock train on the evening of the 17th. At Albany they were met by a considerable body of single tax men, headed by Robert Baker, who had gathered to urge the delegates to insist upon radical free trade declarations by the convention. The trip was made by way of Niagara Falls, through southern Canada, and terminated late in the evening of the 18th. The Grand Pacific Hotel was made the headquarters of the eastern delegates, who were joined by delegates from other sections, though the Palmer House was the headquarters of the convention. On the 19th the convention was opened, E. Burritt Smith being chosen temporary chairman and John Z. White temporary secretary. After the address of the temporary chairman a committee on organization and one on resolutions

were appointed. The former reported speedily, naming for president J. Sterling Morton; for vice-presidents, eighty-four prominent men representing every section of the country; and for delegates, Aretas W. Thomas, Texas; W. H. Page, New York; Lawrence Dunham, Connecticut; John Z. White, W. E. Thayer, Illinois.

The committee on resolutions consisted of J. H. Raymond, Professor H. L. Atwood and A. D. Currier, of Illinois; W. G. Brownlee and Henry A. Robinson, of Michigan; C. N. Keith, of Dakota; Judge J. M. Galloway, of Kansas; E. M. Wilson, of Minnesota; R. R. Bowker and Henry George, of New York; J. Q. Smith, of Ohio; James D. Hancock, of Pennsylvania; A. Thomas, of Texas; E. W. Judd, of Massachusetts; S. B. Buckner, of Kentucky; L. W. Nieman and Clarence S. Brown, of Wisconsin; F. W. Layman, of Iowa; Herbert Boggs, of New Jersey; Lawrence Dunham, of Connecticut; and Bolton Smith, of Tennessee.

The morning of the 20th was occupied by the convention at Central Music hall in listening to essays, and by the committee at the rooms of the Iroquois club in drafting resolutions. Judge Galloway proposed a resolution advocating absolute free trade, but the word "absolute" was struck out by one vote. Other resolutions were presented and debated, until Mr. Bowker drafted the following, which was unanimously adopted by the committee:

We hold that it is the natural right of every man to freely exchange his labor, or the product of his labor, to the best advantage; we declare ourselves unalterably opposed to the so called protective system, and demand the prompt abrogation of all protection features from the tariff, and we believe the American nation will reach its full measure of prosperity only by enacting at the earliest day practicable such legislation as will apply the American system of free trade between the states to the United States in their relations to the world.

Early in the afternoon the resolution was reported, and from that time the convention became a living thing. The breath of life had been breathed into its nostrils. The clause in Roman type was adopted without dissent but that in italics called out all the debating talent in the hall. Mr. Shearman, Mr. George, Mr. Croasdale, Mr. Darrow, Mr. Horace White, Mr. Forest and Mr. Jones were chief among the debaters. The clause was supported on the ground that it was right and appealed to the best sentiments of the mass of people; it was opposed by some because they thought it unwise to demand free trade, and by others because they thought a tariff for revenue the only practicable free trade. It was a significant fact in this debate that though every single tax man in the convention was scrupulously careful to avoid allusions to the single tax and demands not strictly within the limits of the call, the single tax was nevertheless constantly referred to by the mere tariff reformers as a necessary consequence of the principle stated in the italicized clause. When the question was brought to vote, it was defeated by a majority so small that many members on both sides doubted the result as declared.

In the evening following the debate a mass meeting was held in the hall, which was addressed by Henry George, John Codman, C. S. Darrow and J. A. Burrows. Again the effect of radical sentiments on popular audiences was demonstrated. Both Mr. George and Mr. Darrow (the latter a young lawyer of remarkable power as a public speaker) presented the principle of absolute free trade—American free trade as distinguished from revenue tariffs, which are known as British free trade—and every point they made was received with thunders of applause. Captain Codman, too, whose introduction as "a specimen of the American sailor, now extinct," put him at once on a friendly footing with the audience, held their attention as much by his earnest opposition to protection as by his jokes and good humor.

The third day of the convention was given over to discussion and the transaction of a few business details. Among the speakers whose names are familiar to STANDARD readers was Read Gordon. He was called upon while the tin plate question was under discussion, and gave an account of the effect of protection upon his business of preserving fruits, showing that under free trade he could pay the best wages and yet compete at an advantage in any market in the world, while now he is at a disadvantage in his own market on account of foreign competition.

The following committee on permanent national organization was appointed: Horace White, David A. Wells, W. T. Baker, Volney Foster, John Codman, C. D. Hammill, Aretas Thomas, W. W. Catlin and Byron G. Stout; and, after listening to an address by Hugh O. Pentecost, in his best vein, the convention adjourned.

In the evening 150 guests sat down to a banquet in the Palmer house. Ex-Governor Morton presided, and toasts were responded to by Aretas Thomas, John Codman, Louis F. Post, R. R. Bowker, Hugh O. Pentecost, J. H. Raymond, Owen Lovejoy, D. B. Jones, E. O. Brown and Byron G. Stout.

The national organization committee held a meeting on the 24th, at which David A. Wells was elected president and Everett P. Wheeler, R. R. Bowker and George Haven Putnam were appointed members of the executive committee. It was also decided to make New York the permanent headquarters, with a branch at Chicago.



## THE PETITION.

### THE WORK OF GETTING SIGNATURES KEEPING UP ALL THE LINE.

Close to Thirty Thousand Now on  
the List—Nearly Ninety Thousand  
Sent Out—A Fresh Impulse Given  
Work.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,  
NEW YORK, February 26, 1889.

The work of this committee during the week ending to-day shows some improvement over that of the previous week, though no large increase in the receipts of signed petitions can well be looked for until those sent out with the documents begin generally to come in. At this writing, 25,000 packages, each containing three documents, circulars and blank petitions, have been mailed, and before THE STANDARD goes to press all of the remaining packages will be in the mail. It is a most gratifying fact that to-day (Tuesday) the new petitions began to come in.

The best work that can be done by this committee will practically begin when the work of sending out documents is temporarily ended. Our old enrollment list is being compared with the new, and the lists of names of single tax men furnished us by individuals, or published from time to time in THE STANDARD, have been similarly compared, and those whose names do not appear on the new list are reminded of this fact and asked to go to work. Furthermore, a careful examination of the enrollment shows us where the petition has not been pushed, and our list of workers gives us opportunity for communication with those who can be depended upon to press the work when they discover that their own places are tagging behind. For instance, when Cincinnati discovers the fact that Cleveland is far ahead of her on this enrollment, the workers in the former city will be disposed to push the petition and this, in turn, will increase the probabilities of organization there. It is not the business of this enrollment committee to attempt a general or national organization, but its petition does give opportunity for bringing men together, and there is no good reason why a club shall not be organized in every city, town and village. Wherever four or five earnest men have determined that this shall be done, and have gone about the work, a club has been organized, at which extracts from "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems" have been regularly read and discussions on the doctrines therein propounded have been provoked. Of course it would be very well if this committee could comply with the frequent suggestions that lecturers are needed here and there, but the means at its disposal render it impossible to even consider a suggestion that anyone shall be sent out regularly for propaganda work. Fortunately, our cause is so rich in literature that this is not really needed. We are making the widest possible distribution of tracts, but, nevertheless, the number of people in any town or village who have read such tracts is necessarily small in comparison with the whole population, and all that is necessary to give a successful series of meetings followed by debate is for one or two men to select some such tract as King's "Case Plainly Stated," Shearman's speech before the Ohio legislature, or some chapter from "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," or "Protection or Free Trade?" and read it, and then open the meeting for a discussion of such speech or chapter. This course will awaken an interest that will eventually pave the way for public lectures; but until this interest is awakened and organizations are started that can arrange for lectures, it is idle to expect that a successful lecture bureau can be put in operation. It will be the next business of the committee to do all in its power to stimulate the formation of such clubs.

During the past week or ten days letters have been written to all persons whose names appeared on THE STANDARD single tax directory and to many others, reminding them of the fact that their names do not appear on our enrollment. The result has been that many who had accidentally neglected the matter have been stirred up to work. One gentleman in responding to such a letter says that he is an invalid and does not go out evenings, but he acknowledges that this is only a partial excuse, as he might have sent in his own name, at least. As it is, he now sends in his own name and six more, and gives some interesting information

concerning the growth of the single tax sentiment in Massachusetts.

A gentleman at Leadville, Colorado, writes a letter, not for publication, in which he gives the names of the people who constitute the single tax club that has done such effective service in Aspen, Col., and also sends in the names of single tax advocates in his own town. Such letters as these, though not for publication, are exceedingly important, as they enable us to examine our enrollment and see whether or not the persons named have been overlooked, and to get into correspondence with them in case they are not already among the signers of the petition. It is to be greatly hoped that our friends throughout the country will be prompt to send to the committee any matter of interest concerning the movement. Where such letters contain news they will be condensed for publication in THE STANDARD, but individual opinions concerning the success of the movement in any neighborhood are of interest and importance to the committee in guiding it toward the stimulation of work where it is languid.

The contributions during the week have been as follows:

Henry S. Chase, M.D., St. Louis, Mo.	1 00
T. McKnight, Wallula, Wash. Ter.	2 50
A. E. Kugel, Milwaukee, Wis.	50
Fred Macdonald, Butte, Mont.	50
S. C. Reese, Pana, Ills.	1 00
C. H. Vorhes, Cedar Rapids, Iowa	3 90
E. H. Jones, Leadville, Col.	1 00
Solon P. Cress, Leadville, Col.	1 00
C. Bonesteel, Grand Crossing, Ill.	1 00
E. P. Bolin, Whitman, Mass.	1 00
J. H. Hensen, Grand Rapids, Mich.	1 00
Jas. Barron, Minneapolis, Minn.	1 00
H. F. Ring, Houston, Tex.	5 00
Geo. Seward, New York city	1 00
Richard Welton, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.	1 00
John J. Hopper, New York city.	25 00
T. P. Ryan, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1 00
James Croly, Cadillac, Mich.	1 00
James S. Patan, Douglas, Wash. T.	5 00
John Lanza, New York city.	1 00
Charles Watson, Baltimore, Md.	5 00
Thomas Taylor, Youngstown, O.	2 00
Subscriptions in postage stamps.	60
	\$64 20

Previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD. . . . . 2,532 67

Total . . . . . \$2,596 87

This account is made up on Tuesday, and does not include several contributions since noon; and neither does it include some contributions sent to THE STANDARD and transferred to this committee to-day. These will be acknowledged next week.

Taking the figures as they stand, they show that since the committee made its appeal to the public for \$800, for sending out literature, it has received, outside its regular subscribers, \$287.85, and it will, therefore, be under the necessity of using money contributed by a few persons for the general work of the committee to pay for this distribution of literature. This necessity may bring the regular work prematurely to a close, but the most distressing fact about it is that it gives evidence that the committee cannot depend with certainty on our single tax friends to provide for such a distribution of other literature, including an issue of THE STANDARD, as it has always had in view. Of course, it would not be fair or reasonable to ask those who have contributed already so liberally to pay more than they have agreed to pay, and hence the committee will have to be guided by the action or non-action of its friends throughout the country. The work of enrollment, as was stated in the beginning, will go on, but the almost equally necessary work of distributing literature cannot continue unless those who have professed their great desire to press it forward consent to pay the necessary expenses. As has been before said, the public is not asked to contribute one cent toward the ordinary work of this committee. This is provided for, and every cent that comes in is used for spreading literature, promoting organization, and otherwise advancing our cause. The committee is perfectly aware of the fact that a vast number of people doing earnest work for the cause are not able to contribute a single cent in money, but it is also aware of the fact that there are thousands quite as able to contribute as those who have sent in money from whom it has not heard. This is probably due to carelessness or inadvertence, but the fact that the outside contributions have not half paid for sending out the first 90,000 pamphlets should bring our friends to see that funds are urgently needed.

The total number of signatures now enrolled is as follows:

Reported last week . . . . .	27,267
Received during week ending Feb. 26, . . . . .	1,505
Total . . . . .	28,772

This indicates that the 90,000 pamphlets already ordered and prepared for mailing will be exhausted in the course of a very few days, and the committee has been compelled to order 30,000 more to carry on the work.

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

J. F. Cooper, Hites, Allegheny county, Pa.—The lords of industry hereabouts are mostly the lords of natural opportunities also. The terms of industrial life are ever growing more rigorous and everywhere the views advanced in "Progress and Poverty" are verified.

J. J. Wilkes, Crainville, Kan.—The farmer is a hard man to convince of the truth of anything new, but corn at 16½ cents per bushel and other products correspondingly low, with all manufactured articles that he has to purchase so far above the cost of production, will, I think, hasten his conviction.

James Charlton, Houston, Texas.—It is evident that George's idea has passed the first, or ridiculous stage, and people are beginning to discuss it in earnest and to think there may be something in it. We shall soon be in the last stage—namely, adoption.

Samuel D. Manning, Portsmouth, Va.—The interest in the single tax is increasing quite rapidly, considering that there are only two of us pushing the work here. Nine out of ten men to whom I explain the system see its advantages.

James Ryan, Oswego, N. Y.—I find no difficulty in obtaining signatures to the petition. I think every man and woman in the country who believes in the single tax doctrine should do something for this work.

Edward Jewett, East Rindge, N. H.—Our work is pre-eminently an educational one, and the time required to educate the people of the whole country would not be appreciably greater than that required to educate the people of a single state.

Frank M. Duval, Baltimore, Md.—I find a good deal of trouble in getting signers, but do not mind it, as it gives me a chance to explain things. I can, however, get a great many people of all parties to sign except the Gorman democrats. They won't touch it with a forty-foot pole. They are of the Randall and New York Sun breed, and the sooner the democratic party drives them out of the pasture and locks the gate the better it will be for it.

L. G. Booth, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.—The farms about here are large and the owners, generally speaking, out of debt and very conservative. Most of them came here when land was cheap, and it is now worth from \$50 to \$60 per acre. They are averse to change, and look with suspicion on any movement out of the general line of politics. In fact, they constitute an ignorant but powerful opposition, and the poorer people in their employ look up to them and worship them as much as the slaves worshiped their "good masters." Nevertheless, the single tax doctrine is gradually insinuating itself into public thought, and men can now be approached on the subject who would have spurned you from their presence a year ago. The newspapers are throwing open their columns to its discussion, and the faithful are more enthusiastic than ever before.

James H. South, Eagle Rock, Idaho.—I came here about a year ago and brought with me five dollars' worth of George's books, which have been circulated among the ranchers, who have read them with interest. I also send my copy of THE STANDARD around among them, and it is doing good.

B. A. Birmingham, Kansas City, Mo.—The single tax doctrine seems to be rapidly gaining ground in Kansas City, as is shown by the history of our single tax club, recently organized. At the first meeting there was an attendance of 17, at the next, three weeks later, the attendance was over 70, and at the last, a week ago Sunday, the attendance was 104.

James McClelland, Cumberland Mills, Me.—I am getting the people here worked up to the importance of the single tax. We shall have a club in full blast in Cumberland Mills in a few weeks.

Dr. W. N. Hill, Baltimore, Md.—There is every prospect at present of a more effective prosecution of the single tax work than at any previous period. The single tax league is about to establish permanent headquarters, which will help our work greatly.

Melvin H. Palmer, St. Louis.—I find little if any trouble in procuring signatures, even from those who believe that the tariff benefits them. They fail to hold up their end in argument, and finally see the absurdity and injustice of the whole system.

#### To New Haven Men.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—There is to be a meeting of single tax men at 102 Orange street, room 11, Friday evening, March 1, for the purpose of placing the tax reform club upon a more useful and active basis, and for securing the services of some able speaker to arouse public interest in the reforms we advocate. We hope that every STANDARD reader here who has the cause at heart will try to be present and lend a helping hand.

The single tax men of New Haven seem to be a little too "single"—too much like political bachelors; they ought to unite, get married politically, so to speak, and form a prolific political family for propagating their ideas.

ALFRED SMITH.

## THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

A Reminiscence of the Time When the Republican Party Favored Free Soil, Free Men and Freedom—Other Items.

Samuel Polack has presented the club with a relic of the presidential campaign of 1856—the year in which the republican party entered the national political field. It is a medallion which was struck for the new party and its presidential candidate. It is of pewter, and has on one side a bust, profile, of John C. Fremont, and in a circle surrounding the head these words: "Col. John C. Fremont, born January 21, 1813." On the reverse side, within a wreath, are the words, "The Rocky mountains echo back Fremont, the people's choice for 1856.—Constitutional Freedom." Entwined about the base of the wreath are the two principles on which the republican party went into the national field, "Free Soil, Free Men."

"The Fremont men of '56 are nearly all George men to-day," said an old man, who was sitting in a group examining the medallion the other night. Not a word was said in answer; but heads nodded in mute assent. The medal will be properly framed and hung up on the walls where General Fremont himself may see it, and perhaps be reminded of the time when his highest ambition was to lead a political party whose slogan was "Constitutional Freedom" and whose creed was "Free Soil, Free Men."

The Visitor's Book now rests on a handsome desk made by Mr. Everett. Over the desk is a handsome sign, painted by Mr. Gilholy, directing attention to the book. Mr. Everett has made and Mr. Gilholy painted a large blackboard, on which, in future, will appear all the announcements of the club. Mr. Doblin has contributed two water color drawings—"The Spinner" and "Getting Ready to Go On."

The proposed concert has been postponed for further preparation.

The meetings of the Progress and Poverty class on Monday evenings are well attended not alone by members of the Manhattan club, but by persons who have not yet come to believe in the single tax as well.

There was a large attendance at the meeting last Sunday evening, when Henry George gave a short account of what was done at the tariff reform conference held in Chicago last week. In closing he announced his early departure for an extended tour of Great Britain, and promised upon his return to give a long talk before the club.

William J. Gorsuch followed, delivering an interesting address.

Henry T. Terry will deliver the lecture next Sunday evening, taking for his subject "The capitalists' side of the labor question."

At an informal meeting held on last Monday evening the club decided to assemble at the rooms, 8 St. Mark's place, on Friday evening, March 1, at eight o'clock, and from there go to steamer and bid Henry George good speed on his mission to Great Britain. All friends who may desire to participate are invited to come to the rooms at the above named hour.

#### The Yorkville Club Disbands.

At a special meeting of the Yorkville single tax club, at their rooms, 1506 Second avenue, on Thursday, Feb. 21, 1889, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

Resolved, That this club disbands and urges all its members to join the Manhattan single tax club.

A. Schultz and Arthur Fiegel were appointed a committee of two to present the names of those members who desired to join the Manhattan club. ARTHUR FIEGEL.

#### Why Henry Smith Was Beaten.

E. W. Krackowizer writes from Milwaukee: We should have re-elected Henry Smith had it not been for the folly of trying in one and the same breath to prove that protection is barefaced robbery and yet that we were only five per cent, on the average, less felonious than the "high taxers." The masses were ready for straight free trade doctrine; but the labor leaders of the Schilling type, and those in charge of the democratic campaign, saw fit to cast a cake to, rather than sly a castor oil, the protection Cerberus, and we got beaten—the labor party going all to pieces.

#### Democrats Helping the Saxton Bill.

The Young men's democratic club of New York, one of the most important political organizations of the city, at a meeting held on Monday evening, voted to recommend the passage by the legislature of the Saxton ballot reform bill, as slightly amended by a committee of the club. The amendments are that a tag system of identification shall be adopted to preserve the secrecy of the ballot; that prior to an election, the county clerks shall submit to inspection the ballots printed, and that sheets of ballots shall be used instead of detached ballots.

#### Two Electoral Reform Bills Before the Colorado Legislature.

DENVER, Col.—Senator Newell and Representative Chatfield have each introduced bills into the legislature embracing the Australian system of voting.

The Denver single tax association is doing effective service for this measure by circulating petitions throughout the state and bringing the matter before meetings of business men.

F. H. MORROW.



## BEFORE THE PRINTERS.

SPEECHES BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, HENRY GEORGE AND PARKER PILLSBURY.

A Magnificent Meeting in Boston on Washington's Birthday Under the Auspices of Typographical Union 13—A Big Gathering in Tremont Temple.

From the Boston Herald of February 23.

The meeting held in Tremont temple yesterday afternoon under the auspices of Boston typographical union 13 was attended by a large and enthusiastic audience of ladies and gentlemen. The occasion was notable for the presence of Henry George, who lectured on "The Law of Wages," William Lloyd Garrison, who presided, and the venerable Parker Pillsbury, who was given a seat on the platform near the orator of the day. While the audience was gathering, J. J. Carew of South Boston gave a very acceptable organ recital. As Mr. George and Mr. Garrison were escorted to seats on the platform by H. O'Halloran, president of the union, cheers and a storm of applause greeted them. About them sat Rev. O. P. Gifford, Rev. Samuel Brazier of England, George E. McNeill, Mr. Louis Prang, Professor Moses True Brown, Professor Hamlin Garland, Rev. Samuel A. W. Sample of Chelsea, Vice-President Bradley, Secretary Douglass, Treasurer Stephens of the union, and the lecture committee, Charles Lynch, John R. Roche, E. O. Wood, E. T. Milligan, J. J. Mullin, William F. Sherlock and Lawrence Chase; President Chinkard, Vice-President Lenery and Secretary Foster of the Central labor union, President Grant and Secretary Mundy of the Granite cutters' union, E. M. Chamberlin, Edward P. Roche, Edward O'Donnell, Daniel H. Biggs, W. P. Charrington, Joseph Parker, E. M. White, W. H. Hannaford, Thomas Hall, E. W. Frost, John A. Adams, A. C. Dunning and H. G. Casey of Auburn, Mel K. R. Cranford, E. T. Clark of Malden, Mr. Nicholas Furlong.

President O'Halloran briefly introduced Mr. Garrison as presiding officer of the meeting, mentioning him as "the son of that noble patriot who did so much to abolish chattel slavery."

William Lloyd Garrison's Address.

If the doctrines of my friend, Mr. George, were popular, as they will be one day, my humble services would not have been requested for this occasion. But because he is misunderstood and maligned and because it is fashionable to couple his name with expressions of disdain, it is a privilege and a duty to introduce him to you this afternoon.

Every reformer naturally expects the censure of polite society. To defy conventional customs or differ from accepted opinions is, in its view, more heinous than a moral transgression. It condemns without thought or investigation, and its unintelligent verdict matters not. In due season to-day's heresies will be its orthodoxy.

But in all conflicts the nearer the combatants are in agreement, the more bitter the antagonism, and we have the example of eminent workers in the field of social science, who lose no opportunity to disparage Henry George. It is also to protest against this discourteous treatment of a brother worker, from whose conclusions they differ, that I am here. Their social weight and prestige are unfairly thrown into the scale against him. Nevertheless I have great patience with those who speak with amused contempt of the Henry George movement. I was not long ago in their company. My conception of the man was gained from the daily papers, and his writings had never met my eye. I thought him the type of the labor agitator who loves better to make public harangues than to earn his bread by honest labor. I asked myself, "How is it that sensible people will listen to such a demagogue?"

ONE MEMORABLE EVENING.

I shall never forget the memorable evening when, weary with the day's care, I chanced to take up the fresh number of the Nineteenth Century, and open it unwittingly to the discussion between Mr. George and the duke of Argyll. I had a high opinion of the duke for his then liberal politics and his friendship for the abolitionists, and I wondered at his condescending to debate with such a fellow. As I began to read my surprise deepened into profound interest, my feelings and sympathies were stirred, and when I closed the magazine my mind had undergone a revolution and the scales had dropped from my eyes. In purity of style, in dialectic skill, in force and clearness of presentation and in courtesy of manner, the labor agitator was easily the leader. A sense of shame came over me, that I, who had been born and reared among reformers and knew so well the unscrupulous cruelty of the press in its treatment of such, should have been so readily a dupe.

George Thompson, the great English orator and abolitionist, on one occasion in this country, when the mob insisted on drowning his voice, gained their silence and attention by shouting "Pumpkin pie!" And as they listened for an explanation of these unexpected words he described his repugnance to the dish when first offered to him in America. "At length," he said, "I was induced to taste it, and after awhile to taste again, and now there isn't a Yankee among you who can eat

more pumpkin pie than I." Then advancing to the front of the platform and throwing wide open his coat, he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, taste of me!" and they heard him quietly to the end of his impassioned and radical speech.

Having once tasted of Henry George, my appetite was sharpened, and "Social Problems," "Protection or Free Trade?" and lastly, "Progress and Poverty," yielded to me their fulness of satisfaction. Of course I was obliged to take THE STANDARD, and to read its earnest and thorough treatment of the absorbing questions of the day. I came with reluctance to Mr. George's single tax conclusion, and read with avidity all current criticisms of it in books and papers, only to find it still an unanswerable one. Having reached that point, I sought the man himself to proffer my sympathy and support. And now, borrowing the words of Mr. Gladstone in reference to O'Connell, "I desire to purge myself, by this public act, of any residue of old and unjust prepossession."

BUT JUSTICE WILL COME.

Casistry may for a time confuse the arguments of "Progress and Poverty," learned statisticians may marshal long columns of figures to vanquish the new faith, but against him who deals in principles nothing can avail. The people who have not the time to study and analyze laborious statistics are yet touched and inspired by simple words addressed directly to their sense of right and wrong. They reckon ill who lose sight of the ethical basis underlying all reform. Very few can master the questions of political economy, but the mass of mankind can understand an appeal to their sense of justice.

The wrongfulness of land monopoly, the despotic power within the grasp of land monopolists, the vast tracts held for speculative purposes, the consequent crowding of the landless into tenements, the poverty and vice that come from swarming populations, the startling inequalities exhibited by our vicious system of taxation, the popular discontent that shows itself in strikes and riots and the murderous demonstrations of anarchism, all indicate a deep-seated social disease. As the ignorant English populace mobbed the physicians who would save them from smallpox by inoculation, as the white victims of slavery persecuted the abolitionists who sought to elevate them, so suffering society to-day has only abuse for the reformers who are trying disinterestedly to avert its threatening dangers.

The problems face us, and cannot be postponed. Visionaries and fanatics, in the true sense of the words, have in the nature of things only a local and temporary influence. Men soon discern that they are windmills, and not knights, and they cease to be taken seriously. But when the real champion appears, opposition strengthens him and neglect is impossible. Theodore Parker was invited to this city forty-four years ago, by a few men and women, who resolved that he should have a chance to be heard in Boston. He was anathematized by the churches and ignored by his own denomination. We call him St. Theodore now, and his portrait has a proud place in the Unitarian building.

MEN EVERYWHERE TURNING TO THE NEW EVANGEL.

If the ideas of Henry George are absurd and impracticable, why waste breath in confuting them? And yet many volumes have been written to prove how wild and ridiculous they are. I notice that while it is difficult to recall the names of their confident authors, "Progress and Poverty" goes singing its song of cheer around the world. It awakens echoes in far off Australia and the islands of the southern sea, and wherever the English tongue is spoken, the thoughts and lips of men are busy with its theories. It breaks down the barriers of nationality, being itself cosmopolitan and universal in spirit. Translated into all the languages of Europe, it finds a sympathetic response in France and Italy; it gathers men in council in Germany and Denmark and Scandinavia beyond, in the region of the midnight sun. It reaches even the ears of the down trodden peasants of Russia, who travel leagues of weary miles to talk with Tolstoi of the new evangel, which brings its ray of hope to their despondent hearts.

The venerable poet Whittier, in a recent letter, counseled the young to interest and identify themselves with some unpopular cause, in the service of which the greatest satisfaction of life is to be found. It is in the hope of stimulating such thought and inviting such co-operation that this meeting is called. Consideration and not agreement is asked. You are expected to take nothing on trust; to subject to the strictest examination both the reasoning and the facts presented, and to judge whether true conservatism is to preserve old wrongs instead of laying the ax at the roots of evil from which they spring.

Our poet of freedom has written for reform and reformers for all time, and with his stirring verses I conclude:

God bless ye, brothers!—in the fight  
Ye're waging now, ye cannot fail,  
For better is your sense of right  
Than kingcraft's triple mail.

Than tyrant's law, or bigot's ban,  
More mighty is your simplest word;  
The free heart of an honest man  
Than crozier or the sword.

Press on!—the triumph shall be won  
Of common rights and equal laws.

The glorious dream of Harrington,  
And Sidney's good old cause.

Blessing the cotter and the crown,  
Sweetening worn labor's bitter cup;  
And plucking not the highest down,  
Lifting the lowest up.

Gentlemen and ladies, it is with pleasure that I introduce to you Henry George.

Henry George's Address.

The Herald gives the following summary of Henry George's address:

Fellow craftsmen of the Boston Typographical Union (applause), Ladies and Gentlemen: I am honored by the invitation of the Boston typographical union to discuss the question of wages, and I rejoice in it as an evidence of progress. I am glad that the printers of Boston are beginning to think of the matter of wages, for of all subjects this seems to me the most important. I say so from no class standpoint. Wherever wages are highest, there you will find the highest standard of comfort, the highest standard of intelligence; the most stable government, the quickest invention and the readiest adaptation. This question of wages affects not merely workingmen, as they are called, but the whole community in its deepest and highest interests. If we would have here a republic such as our fathers dreamed of founding; if we would carry forward this nation to the grand destiny that is possible for it, we must keep wages high—we must raise wages. (Applause.) Wages are not high enough, and I believe they can be raised—not by the methods of brute force and stupidity, but by taking counsel, by exerting thought, by applying to the question that intelligence which is the highest power of man. (Applause.)

But what are wages? As commonly defined they are the price paid by the man who hires labor to him who renders labor—the price paid by the employer to the employed. Yet money is merely a measure of values and medium of exchange. If we fail to note this we tend to overestimate the rate of wages in one place, and underestimate it in another. The usefulness of money lies in the possibility of exchanging it for things that a man wants—things which we may describe as labor or the products of labor, and payment for the use of the globe.

These are the things that men work for, and they really constitute wages as finally received by the laborer. I call attention to this for two or three reasons. We frequently hear it said that wages have steadily increased during the last thirty to fifty years, or since the beginning of the century. These statements are often supported by statistics giving the money wages in certain occupations, and then the price of certain staple articles, such as cotton cloth, meat, flour, iron; and it is seen, according to these figures, that while the money wages have increased, the purchasing power of money has decreased, and the increase of wages seems really greater than it would be if money were taken as the sole basis. But there is a fallacy in these positions.

THE FALLACY ABOUT WAGES.

Printers, as other workmen, know that money wages are lower in the small villages than in great cities. In these villages we also find that the price of the staple articles usually selected by the "statisticians" is somewhat higher. Accepting their reasoning we should, therefore, infer that the workmen of the cities are enormously better off. Yet, when we see how they live, we find there is no such difference.

The reason we find to be, when we come to inquire, that not only is rent cheaper in the village than in the city, but that many smaller items of expense are less, and that there are many items of cost incident to life in the great city which are not necessary in the little village, or are much cheaper there; so that, in spite of the somewhat higher cost of the principal staples, it is possible to live on the same level of comfort and respectability for much less money in the village than in the city. There are similar differences between countries which often vitiate conclusions as to real wages between them, and I take it that the general course of our civilization has been in its effects on the cost of living in the same direction as that which occurs when the small village grows into the city. When we consider this it is very clear that the conclusions which so-called "statisticians" draw from their figures are not reliable as opposed to common belief; that while wages nominally may have increased, while the price of certain staple articles may have diminished, yet the full wages of labor are nothing like as large, and the advance is nothing like as great, as would be supposed from those figures. (Applause.)

Note another thing. Men who work are giving labor in exchange for labor and the products of labor. A man works on the Boston Herald or Globe. He sticks type by the week, and on Saturday he puts in his string and gets his pay. That pay is in money. If he is an ordinary printer, he immediately goes off to spend that money. (Laughter.) If he is an extraordinary printer, he may put a little of it by, but he will spend most of it. (More laughter and applause.) The money is a mere counter; it is paid out for the most part for labor or the products of labor. What the man really gets in return for his labor is the labor of other people or the products of that labor. (Applause.) Now, if that be the case, how is it that we hear of too

many laborers? (Renewed applause.) How is it that workmen all over this country are thinking or talking as if there were too many workmen? (Applause.) How is it that in the state of New York to-day there are 2,000 or 3,000 convicts held in idleness in the state prisons lest by their labor, by doing anything to increase the wealth of the state of New York, they should injure honest laborers? (A voice—"That's protection.") Yes, that's protection. Make no mistake, my friend, protective ideas run deep. (Applause.) There are lots of so-called tariff reformers who are at heart protectionists. (Renewed applause.) Why, I have just come from a tariff reform convention in the city of Chicago, and we offered a resolution in which we declared for free trade, and declared it to be our ultimate aim to make trade between this republic and all the nations of the earth as free as it is between our states. (Great cheering.) And what do you think? Why, lots of those tariff reformers jumped right up on their feet and howled. "What would you abolish the custom houses?" (Laughter.)

THE FIRM HOLD OF PROTECTIVE IDEAS.

Make no mistake. Protective ideas run deep, and you will find lots of people who think themselves free traders who are unwilling to abolish the custom houses—who are yet enthralled by the protection superstition. (Applause.) Look at congress, look at our state legislatures, look at conventions and meetings of the Knights of Labor, and at all sorts of labor organizations. The cry is "We must keep out foreign labor." (Laughter.) Running all through our labor associations, our unions, what is the idea? It is to keep labor out of that particular trade. But now consider. If it be really true, and you cannot dispute it, that what men work for and get is the labor of other people and the product of their labor, how is it that people should ever come to think there can be too many laborers? (Applause.)

That there are unemployed laborers is certainly a fact. All over the country to-day you find unemployed men. All over this land you find the idea growing that the mere opportunity to labor is a boon. Something must be wrong when we think that the idea prevails that the man who furnishes another with employment is supposed to do him a benefit. I go to work for a man to "stick" type for him. I give him my labor and he gives me his money. Now, if it is a fair exchange, I ought not to be more obliged to him than he is to me. (Applause.) Yet in a good many vocations—I never heard of it in the printing business—the man who pays his fellow citizens for rendering their labor thinks he has a claim on them even to their votes. (Loud applause.) You have heard of the pay envelope that was so largely distributed during the last election. Well, you know, if you know much of the conditions of labor in this free and enlightened republic (laughter), that every election day thousands and thousands of free white men are bulldozed into voting as their employers wish.

IN WHICH MASSACHUSETTS HAS LED THE VAN.

Oh, men of Massachusetts! let me say something I had forgotten till now. I congratulate you citizens of the glorious old commonwealth of Massachusetts in being the first to adopt the Australian ballot system. (Loud cheering.) To us, I think, belongs the honor of first proposing it. (Applause.) We carried it through the New York legislature, but it was beaten by the veto of the governor, and Massachusetts, old Massachusetts, has led the van. In five years more, I believe, that will be the general system of election all over the United States, and intimidation will be a thing of the past. (Prolonged cheering.) I congratulate you on it, because, to my mind, that is the first and most important of all political reforms. (Applause.)

Now, to return: It has been held for a long time by people who call themselves political economists that wages are paid by capital (a voice, "Bosh!") and that, as employment is limited by capital, there can be only such employment as there is capital to pay for. Look at the facts. Here is a shoe factory. Take an inventory of the capital of the firm on Monday morning before work begins. It will consist of such a value of buildings, so much machinery, so much stock, so much finished material, so much money on hand or in bank. Now the factory bell rings, men and women go to work; they work through the week, and they receive their wages on Saturday night. Now, let another inventory of the stock be taken—so much buildings, so much raw materials, so much finished goods, so much money on hand, so much money in bank, so much solvent credits. Now, if that concern has been doing a profitable business, as the average of concerns must do, you will find that on Saturday night when they have paid wages, they are richer than they were on Monday morning before the hands went to work. (Applause.) Now, where did the wages come from? From capital? The capital is not diminished. They came from labor—they are part of the value that labor has created. (Loud applause.) So that the man who does productive labor really creates the value, a part of which he gets back as wages, and labor itself produces the fund with which labor is paid. (Applause.)

TOO MANY WORKERS.

When you recognize that, it becomes still more curious that there should be such a difficulty of finding employment; not, perhaps,



in any one trade, because there may be at any time too many in one trade, where the number may be relatively too large. But here we find to-day in all vocations a constant complaint of over-crowding. There are too many clergymen. (Loud laughter and applause.) That is, they say so; I don't. There are too many clergymen for them all to make a decent living. (A voice: "Too many doctors.") Yes, there are too many doctors, too many lawyers, too many everything. As to printers, I think that, even in Boston, you will find a good many around the union rooms who are not at work, and not likely to be. If you go down among the farmers they will tell you there are too many farmers, and that is the reason the poor fellows, so many of them, voted to support a protective tariff. (Great laughter and applause.) They did not want everybody to go to farming. (More laughter.)

You are told that this great Yankee nation can only pursue any industry above that of farming by grace of the blue-coated and brass-buttoned gentlemen who line our Canadian border and cluster on our wharves whenever a ship comes in; that, if this blessed tariff were removed, American industries would go to the bow-wows; that Canadians, Englishmen, Germans and French would sweep our manufactures away, and we should all go to farming. (Laughter.) But consider. If it be true, and it is, that what men get for their labor is really labor or the products of labor, the direct effect of protection is to reduce the amount of things they can get.

Remember, again, that salary paid yearly is the same in nature as wages, and that when a man works for himself and keeps the product of his labor, he also is getting wages. ("Hear, hear!") So that when you treat wages in the large sense—and you must do that if anything permanent is to be done to raise wages and improve the conditions of men who depend upon labor—you at once see that, instead of being a question that affects only a portion of the community, it is really a question that affects more than nine-tenths of the community.

Note next that occupations differ in the amount of skill they require, and, therefore, in the amount of wages paid. But through all their gradations wages have a certain general relation, and are fixed by the standard of wages in the lowest and widest occupations—those occupations in which men can most easily engage, those which constitute the basis of the social pyramid. If something were discovered to-day that would enable all manual laborers to earn \$5 a day, you would find wages in all other occupations mounting. (Applause.) So there exists between different countries a standard of wages. Now, what fixes that general standard?

#### THE WAY TO RAISE WAGES.

There are two ways of raising wages. One is the way of the trades unions—the way I spoke of as the way of brute force and stupidity. That is by combining together, by pushing against the employer and by pushing back other men. I have not a word to say against unions, except there is a better way. If I went back to my old business again, my first step would be to join one. They have raised wages, but only to a small extent, and it is only to a small extent that they are capable of raising them. Because in raising wages they raise only their own wages, bringing them up a little above the ordinary level, and just as you bring wages in any particular occupation above the ordinary level, you bring up a counter force, a pressure to get into that trade. (Applause.) That forces you into a fight to keep them back. If you want to raise wages largely and permanently, it is the unskilled laborer you must look out for. Raise his wages, and then all wages will be raised. By combining together in any one trade you merely raise wages a little above the ordinary level, and then you increase the tendency to bring them down again. If we would do anything for ourselves we must look out for our brother; if we would make any real progress, we must do to others and for others what we would have them do unto us. (Applause.) If workmen would get anything real and permanent they must go in, not for one great trade union, but for the whole people. (Cheers.) To give labor its rights, and raise wages to what they ought to be, men must go out of their own immediate circle; must aim at larger ends and strive for more general interests. (Applause.) Labor is the producer of all wealth, and the condition of things in which the laboring class finds itself the poor class is an unnatural state.

#### THE LAND QUESTION.

In seeking the solution of the labor question you come to the land question. The reason that the laborer is the poor class, and that so many men are perfectly helpless, is because the great majority of them are disinherited. Man can be enslaved by taking the land by which he lives. A man has to pay a part of his wages for the privilege of living on the globe. We are all here with equal permission of the creator, and we certainly are here on equal rights to the land; it is also true that absolute security in the possession of land is necessary to the use of it.

Mr. George then referred to the system in vogue in composition rooms of daily papers, whereby all the compositors shared in the benefit of letting out department work, using this by way of analogy in the letting out of land. What the chapels of the printers do,

he said, can be done by the citizens in regard to land. Of course we must raise a public revenue for the common benefit. The easy way to do it is by what we call the single tax. (Applause.) Abolish taxation on all forms of production and let it remain upon the value of land, taking off the tax upon houses, personal property, etc., and from everything which in any way hampers labor. (Applause.) The whole people will be common owners of the land of their country, and common sharers in the common growth of their community, and in that you destroy that barrier that holds back labor when it tries to employ itself in this cut throat competition in all the avenues of business that exists to-day. (Great applause.) For then it would become unprofitable to hold land without using it. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" and great applause.) There is vacant land enough for all people, but it is fenced in; capital remains idle that ought to be used, and labor goes to waste that ought to be employed. What a stupid thing it is that we should tax capital and improvements! Here in Massachusetts you are taxing to death the goose that lays the golden egg. (Laughter and applause.) Why is Massachusetts richer to-day than it was 100 years ago? There is no more land. (Applause.) There are more buildings, railroads, factories, etc. This is wealth. The first thing of interest to us is that there should be an abundance of wealth. Is it not stupid, then, that we should tax capital? (Voices, "Yes," and applause.) Houses are a good thing, and I don't believe you have enough of them in Boston; but as soon as a man sets out to build one, down comes the tax gatherer and says he must tax it. Tax these things and you will have less of them, but tax land all you please and there will be no less land. (Applause.)

#### FAIRNESS AND CERTAINTY OF THE SINGLE TAX.

Mr. George argued that nowhere were taxes fairly collected under the present system, and that the system produced perjury and dishonesty; that it was a tax on conscience, and when a tax on conscience gets heavy, conscience disappears. (Applause.) He said he had yet to hear of a millionaire in this country who ever paid his full taxes. The property of the widow and orphan, however, gets pretty fairly assessed. Under the single tax you can say to every one: Grow as rich as you possibly can; build, plow, sow, improve, do what you please to do to add to the common stock of wealth, save as much as you wish, the more wealth you make the greater the common stock, and if you add to the stock of wealth you cannot keep all of it to yourself. Do all you please, we won't tax you one penny, we will simply put our tax on the value of the land, taking for the use of the community that which the community itself creates (applause) the value of land, which depends upon the general demand for the use of that particular piece. In a growing city the value of any building diminishes and passes away, but the value of the land steadily increases. Every child that is born, every family that comes to a city and stays there, and every public improvement adds to the value of the land and not anything else. Under the new system no one would have any temptation to get any land that he did not want to use; then the opportunity for employment would be open to all, and we would find it hard to imagine that there could be such a thing as unemployed men willing to work who could not find an opportunity to work.

#### ANSWERING QUESTIONS.

Mr. George next turned his attention to answering questions, and he was kept very busy for nearly another hour. Among the questions which were hurled at him from all parts of the hall were these:

Q.—Can a man live without work?

A.—Yes, if he lives on the work of somebody else. (Laughter and applause.) It is because people want to live without work that men fight so hard against this single tax. (Renewed applause.)

Q.—How would it be with the farmers in the agricultural districts—where the value of land would add to the expenses of the town in making, for instance, sanitary improvements?

A.—I think where the value of land is low you will find the necessities of the town very low; where the value of land increases, the necessities of the town also increase, and I have no doubt that in Massachusetts, as in all our states, this tax would be sufficient to bear the legitimate town expenses. If they were a little short they would be a little more economical.

Q.—What will you do with the mortgages on land?

A.—I should think that the mortgagee and mortgagee ought to be treated on any sudden change which would affect the value of land as joint owners of the land, which they essentially are. (Applause.)

Q.—We should have to amend the constitution of the United States, shouldn't we?

A.—If it be necessary I think it would be a good thing to do. We will have to amend the constitution of the United States in one respect, and do away with the provision that direct taxes shall be levied between the states according to population.

Q.—Would it result in failing the life insurance companies and the savings banks?

A.—If it were to come suddenly, perhaps it might. (Laughter.) In return for them we should get something better than insurance companies and savings banks—a state of society abounding in wealth, in which the

causes of greed and selfishness would be so far removed that there would be no such thing as widows and orphans in want. (Great applause.)

Q.—Is not this land reform a feature of socialism?

A.—I don't know that I would be a proper expounder of socialism in a narrow sense. We are individualists so far as the principle of individualism will go. (Applause.)

Q.—How do you propose to disseminate this idea that you represent?

A.—By those processes that come near to the man. If you will first study it and consider carefully and thoughtfully its beauty and force, then you have got to try to propagate it. (Applause.)

Q.—How would the ownership of buildings be affected?

A.—It would be made absolute, as it ought to be. We prate about the rights of property, but we do not respect these rights. When a man builds a house the whole of it belongs to him, and it is a species of robbery for the state or city to come down on him and say to him, "A piece of that building belongs to us." They take it in money, but that is a part of it.

Q.—How about the Astor leases which will expire next week, when the rentals will be quadrupled?

A.—In such leases generally the land owner becomes the owner of the buildings. The Astors will probably raise their rentals four or five times; that is what is universally done. The confiscation and robbery that is going on under this state of things is appalling. You have got used to it—that is all. (Great applause.) Regarding the relative value of land and buildings, Mr. George said, by way of illustration: Here in the center of Boston is a lot. I am the owner. You want to erect a building on it. I name the terms to you. You either buy the piece or hire it and put up the building. Under the present system you pay taxes on the building beside what you pay to me, and then collect from your tenant in the way of rental. Under the new system there would be no tax on the building; all would fall on the lot. That, then, would not be worth so much to hold. I should give you a good deal lower selling price, because of the taxes I have to pay. Of the rental price, I, the owner of the lot, would get less, and you, the builder of the building, would get as much as now or more. (Applause.) The tenant would benefit. As the owner of the lot, I am a perfectly useless commodity. A land owner as a land owner is of no use at all. Ownership of land doesn't do anything. Adam, when he went out of the Garden of Eden, had all the world to own (laughter), but was of no use; he would have starved if that was all he had. (Laughter and applause.) It is the producer and user of land, and not the owner, we want to consider.

Q.—Would you take off the whisky tax? (Roars of laughter.)

A.—That depends on what you think of whisky. (Renewed laughter and applause.) If you think whisky is a bad thing, tax it; but if you tax whisky because it is a bad thing, then don't tax other groceries, as they are good things. (Applause.)

In reply to other questions Mr. George said: We do not propose to divide land. We believe in the railroads and telegraphs being controlled by the community or government. The smaller towns, in a sanitary sense, would not be retarded. Patent laws and copyrights are not in the single tax system. A copyright is a natural right, a right of property, and ought to be considered by common law; patent right is not. A man has a right to the individual machine he makes, but not to the way he makes it. In my opinion, we would do a great deal better by paying a direct bounty than by granting patents.

A gentleman desired to know if Mr. George believed that such a man as Adam ever lived. This provoked great laughter, and Mr. George replied: Yes, there was Adam Smith. (Laughter and applause.) Yes, I believe that such a man as Adam lived. Adams means, as I understand it, "first man," and I think there must have been a first man. (Applause.) If the gentleman wishes to know whether I believe as literally true the story about the garden of Eden and the apple, and all that sort of thing, I can answer. I do not literally. I believe it is the poetical representation of fundamental truth, however. (Great applause.)

#### THE VETERAN PARKER PILLSBURY.

Questions continued to flow in upon Mr. George with great rapidity, several gentlemen in the audience standing at the same time for recognition, but Mr. George, waving his hand in a deprecating manner, said he was in hopes that the veteran Parker Pillsbury, who had honored the meeting with his presence, would speak, and Mr. George paid the veteran abolitionist a very graceful compliment, coupling his name with his fellow workers, Garrison and Phillips, which called forth a storm of applause, renewed as Mr. Pillsbury walked to the front of the platform and was introduced by Mr. Garrison.

It was a little time before Mr. Pillsbury ventured to speak. When he did his voice was tremulous with deep emotion. He spoke of the time forty years ago when he stood in Tremont temple with Garrison and Phillips. This meeting reminded him more of the old abolition meetings than any he had attended since the death of slavery. While listening this afternoon to the magnificent opening of

the president of the meeting, he said, and subsequently to the powerful and eloquent address of the orator of the day, it seemed to him that it might be possible that the time would come when Boston would be disposed to erect another monument to another Garrison who would have led up this movement to a similar triumph. (Tremendous applause.)

#### FOR A SINGLE TAX CLUB HOUSE.

All the Present Subscribers Appointed Each a Committee of One to Secure Further Subscriptions—Explaining Where the Income of the Tontine Shareholders Will Come From.

The tontine committee sent a circular letter and subscription blanks to each one who has subscribed so far, with a request that they solicit their friends to subscribe to the fund for purchasing a building.

So many questions have been asked as to the source of income of the tontine shares and as many persons seem to be unable to see how simple and feasible is the scheme proposed, it may be advisable to make a further explanation.

The property which the committee wishes to buy has been offered at \$27,500 and if purchased soon could possibly be got for a little less. It now brings in, in rentals, \$108 per month or \$2,016 per year. If owned by the tontine it could easily be rented at the above figures to societies of single tax men. In fact a competition to obtain certain parts of the building already exists, two or three parties being desirous to obtain lodgment therein. If the tontine shares amount to \$5,000 it is proposed to pay on that amount four per cent, or \$200 a year. Supposing the rental of the building amounts to \$2,016 and deducting \$200, the sum of the tontine dividend, we have \$1,816 left to pay interest on the \$22,000 mortgage, which at six per cent would amount to \$1,320, and taxes and insurance, which if no more than at present would amount to \$300, say in all \$1,620. This would leave a surplus over all of \$194 to go to incidental expenses or sinking fund.

The following subscriptions have been sent in since the last report:

R. J. Stanton, M. D., 239 E. 106th st., city.....	25
G. Galsion Freund, 796 Lexington av., city.....	5
Herman Benz, city.....	5
Mrs. Margaret Kelly, 356 E. 13th st., city.....	1
John Kelly, 356 E. 13th st., city.....	1
Jenny Kelly, 356 E. 13th st., city.....	1
F. H. Marsh, 326 1-2 9th street, Brooklyn.....	10
T. B. Preston, Brooklyn (second subscription.)	15
S. L. Barlow, 5 Waverly place, city.....	2
W. A. S., 146 High st., Brooklyn.....	5
H. E. Field, Great Neck, L. I.....	1
H. E. Marchand, Avenue A and 57th st., Bay- onne, N. J.....	20
James Cairns, 166 Windsor st., Hartford, Conn.	3
Mrs. Miles R. Merwin, Milford, Conn.....	5
C. A. Siringo, Denver, Col.....	5

Previously acknowledged..... 154

Total to date..... 1,614

Cash acknowledged—Thomas Williamson, \$3.

33.

#### In the Home of the President-Elect.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—We met last Friday evening as usual, and listened to a paper by Mrs. T. J. Hudson on "Why do the people fail to attend church?" It was an able effort, and would assist our seemingly anxious ministers in their efforts to solve this problem; but fifty-four postal invitations failed to produce the presence of a single preacher.

There is to be a tariff reform conference in this city, commencing the day our standard bearer of protection takes his oath of office. Hugh O. Pentecost is to speak here on the night of the 5th. There will be several single tax men here from different parts of the state, and we would like all to come that can possibly do so, and an effort will be made to get together and form some kind of an organization for systematic work in the state.

The electoral reform bill, which is one of the most radical yet presented to a legislature, has passed the senate, and is now under consideration in the house, and will pass.

L. P. CUSTER.

#### The Equalization of Taxation.

MURRAYVILLE, Ill.—H. N. Starr of Rockford, Ill., reminds me of a plan I have long considered by which representation and taxation might be exactly proportioned in every section. Take the assessed value of whatever was taxed in the state and divide it by the population of the state, and call the quotient a capita. Now to find the population for a basis of representation divide the assessed valuation of the county, or municipality, by this capita and let the quotient stand for the population to be represented.

This would be a simple rule; and under the single tax apply as well between states as in a state. If there were undervaluation the dividend would be smaller, and the divisor remaining the same, representation would be cut down in proportion; or it would be raised with higher valuations and a consequently increased dividend.

WILLIAM CAMM.

#### What Used to Be Said in England.

Blackwood's, April, 1877.

It is certain that the Americans do many things better than any other people under the sun. Their merchant navy is the fleet in the world. Their smartness in the way of trade is acknowledged by those who know them best.



## NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

A republican, an ex-member of congress, confessed to me within a week, that he had not voted last fall at the presidential election. "Why?" I asked. "Well, I'm against the big corporations and I'm for free trade, but the democrats must do a little more weeding from their party before I can go their ticket." He went on to say, that the republican party had in it many voters who were in sympathy with the free trade leaders of the democracy, but only hesitated through the feeling that these leaders would be headed off by the machine men of the party. Both parties, he thought, were being cut through on free trade lines.

It cannot be yet said that a poorly dressed person may go to any church in New York during services and be treated as well as if his clothes were fashionable. But it is true that not a few of the pastors, especially those best known in town, endeavor to have all persons who go to their churches welcomed alike. Late years have seen an advance in this direction. The fashionable club that freezes out the poor from its Sunday reunions is a rarity. Public opinion, with wholesome thinking in the pulpit and pews, has done good work in this respect.

The discussion about Sunday newspapers, which is "on" again in consequence of the starting up of the London edition of the New York Herald, indicates that the opponents of the Sunday paper are growing weaker. There is one church where the opposition, I think, can hardly be very strong. It is an Episcopal church, up town, where I attended services last Sunday. In the pew in front of me sat a very prominent business man who had apparently bought four or five papers on his way to church. At any rate, his silk hat had been made their receptacle. He had placed it on an overcoat in the pew, and the bundle, which filled the hat, peeped over the pew level at a good many pious people in the neighboring seats.

I had a conversation last week with an intelligent single tax protectionist—and there are such people. This man saw clearly that free trade must come with the land value tax in force, but he wanted the latter pushed on just ahead of the abolition of customs duties. He showed me some evidences that the republicans were still agitating the wiping away of the internal revenue taxes. He believed that if this were done, no power could put them on again. Then, like a good fellow, he said: "We are both in the abolition movement, you see, and we both keep to the front the merits of a single tax, don't we?" And I said yes, and we shook hands warmly and parted good friends, though I could not but feel that the word freedom did not mean to him all it might.

The newspapers lately told of the suicide of a young man who had been vainly looking for work twelve weeks. He knew a trade; was industrious; "had been accustomed to dress well"—on wages earned at his trade—"was a proud, high spirited young fellow." "He had been happy with his wife and child; they had never known sorrow save poverty." I am case hardened with newspaper stories, and throw no unnecessary sympathy away in reading them. I know how often they are mere fiction. For example, there was the case of a man who died a few years ago on the street just as the officers were evicting him, and which furnished crocodile tears for some of the papers which profess deep sentimental sympathy with the poor. I happened to know him. He was a worthless fellow who threw away several good situations and then dissipated away his life. Again, there was the case of a postman who was reported as dying from overwork. In fact, he did not. His ailment, contracted long before he went on the post office force, was in all probability as little aggravated there as at any other hard work. But this suicide was young, in good health, had sought work hoping against hope. He was proud and high-spirited. And then one day there was a sickening scene in the tenement house where he lived. He put an end to his life by violence. A loving young wife, "who knew no sorrow save poverty," was left a widow and a helpless little one an orphan. Bring that picture before you and keep your heart from beating quickly, if you can.

"How this single tax idea is being

talked about! Everywhere you go it turns up," a business man lately said to me. "I find people going over it, no matter where I go, some knowing it all and others only knowing a little of it. I picked up the Springfield Republican last week and there were a couple of columns of it. That indicates how thought is working along. The beauty of the single tax is that it stands a good deal of thought. When I first read 'Progress and Poverty' I failed to centralize my mind, so to speak, on the land value tax and its results. But these, when dwelt upon, carry a man right along. When one understands them he can never honestly turn back."

I went the other day to call on a friend living in the best part of town—that is to say, where the dwellings are costliest. I made a mistake in the house, going ten numbers too far along the four story brown stone row. A pretty young servant girl with a scowl on her face opened the door. In response to my ring, just three inches. The burglar proof chain was up. I asked if Mr. Blank was in. "No!" she said bluntly. "But I have an appointment with him," I explained. The girl looked blacker than before and shut the door in my face. I took my bearings and remembered the number of my friend's house. I told the little story of this curious exhibition of incivility to an enlightened writer on a morning journal, and said it puzzled me. "It's the infernal newspapers," he said promptly. "They are gorged with accounts of crime, until householders bar their doors and forbid servants to be polite to strangers. And people on the streets, or in restaurants or theaters are afraid to treat one another decently, for fear of meeting sharpers or getting into adventures that will make them figure in the papers. The public vision is distorted by the meanness of the press." And then he went down town to his desk to write—I don't know what. But, really, why should New Yorkers go about clad in armor and bearing arms? Some years ago, I determined to talk anywhere to any man who looked the least sociable. And I haven't had my pocket picked, nor been led into a sharper's den, nor lost a cent or any self respect by it. I'm a reformer!

Pungency is one of the elements in Father Huntington's talk. He was one of the speakers at a recent meeting of learned folks, who were discussing the question of what should be done with the poor. The line of thought developed was the not unfamiliar one of "amelioration by means of education and charity organization." Father Huntington said that was good. Let them continue on in just that way, and do nothing more, that is, if the poor really were a mass differentiated from society. Treat them like a superior breed of hogs, and if possible raise the level of their average. But if the poor were our brothers, were men and women, give them justice. GRIFFE.

## A Street Scene in Chicago.

CHICAGO.—A crust of bread played a prominent part in a little one scene tragedy which was enacted on the corner of Fifth avenue and Washington street yesterday afternoon about 2 o'clock. At that hour the crust lay in all the humility of its surroundings on the frozen slush under the curbstone. It was not a big crust, nor a fresh one, and the vicissitudes of several days' life on the streets had given it the somber tint of a study in chiaroscuro. The mud had defiled it and the cold wind had hardened it, and only the practiced eye of a dog or a rag picker would have distinguished its identity. Just as the clocks were striking two a tall thin man, of perhaps thirty-five, came rapidly around the corner from Washington street. He wore a thin cutaway coat, the collar of which was turned up around his neck, a well worn pair of trousers and a light brown hat whose faded appearance told that it was a reminiscence of summers gone. His face was cleanly shaven and his ears, reddened by the cold, protruded from his close cropped head with startling violence. On the whole his appearance was rather spruce. As he turned the corner his eyes lit upon the crust. His rapid walk was instantly stopped. His whole demeanor changed. He sauntered leisurely as though winter were a name and cold winds a delight. When he reached the place where the crust lay he stopped, whistled carelessly to himself, gave a guilty glance around to see that no one was looking, stooped, picked up his prize, and thrusting it into the pocket of his disreputable cutaway, walked smartly down Fifth avenue. A minute later he was in the newsboys' alley cleaning the crust with a faded handkerchief and devouring it with great apparent gusto. A. C. WILKIE.

## BEFORE THE MISSOURI LEGISLATURE.

## A Single Tax Bill Introduced and also a Bill Providing for the Separate Assessment of Land and its Improvements.

JEFFERSON (City, Mo., Feb. 19).—The first step towards legislative action in regard to the single tax on land values in this state was taken to-day by the introduction of the following concurrent resolution, submitting an amendment to the constitution of the state, providing for the levying of all taxes on land values:

Be it resolved by the house of representatives, the senate concurring therein:

That at the general election to be held on the Tuesday next following the first Monday in November, A. D. 1890, the following amendment to the constitution of the state of Missouri, concerning revenue and taxation, shall be submitted to the qualified voters of said state, to wit:

Section 1. Taxes for state, county, local and municipal purposes, shall hereafter be levied only upon the value of land exclusive of improvements thereon. The word improvements shall be held and construed to mean and include all buildings, structures, fences, hedges, ditches, drains, living trees planted by human hands, and developments of mines.

Sec. 2. All provisions of the Constitution and laws of this state, inconsistent with this amendment, shall, upon its adoption, be rescinded, void, and of no force or effect.

This resolution was offered by Hon. Frederick Swaine, one of the Union labor representatives from St. Louis, who, in common with Hon. John B. Dempsey, Hon. John McGarr and Hon. James Nolan, advocates the single tax idea.

Mr. Swaine also introduced the following bill to-day:

An act to provide for the separate assessments of land and the improvements thereon.

Be it enacted by the general assembly of the state of Missouri, as follows:

Section 1. That after the first day of January, 1890, assessments for taxation in this state shall show the value of lands and lots separate from the improvements thereon; the words improvements being held and construed to mean and include all buildings, structures, living trees planted by human hands, and developments of mines.

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS.

## Jefferson's Birthday.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Feb. 21.—The following resolution was adopted at the conference of the Ohio single tax league, January 10, 1890:

Resolved, That the single tax league of Ohio, in conference assembled, for the purpose of impressing all men with fact that the fundamental basis of all our reasoning is, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," do hereby call on all single tax clubs to, in some befitting manner, celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson.

Resolved, That the executive board send a copy of this resolution and a request for co-operation to Chauncey M. Black, president of the National league of democratic clubs.

Jefferson was born April 2, 1743, and it is suggested that it might be wise for all single tax organizations throughout the United States to carry out the spirit of this resolution by public meetings, addresses, banquets or otherwise, thus attracting the attention of the general public to the ideas we teach, and to the further fact that as a nation we have drifted far from the principles of pure democracy.

CLIFF S. WALKER,  
Chairman Ohio Single Tax League.

## Thomas G. Shearman in Minneapolis.

Thomas G. Shearman made an address in Harmonia hall, Minneapolis, on Thursday evening of last week, and the space accorded it in the newspapers of that city and St. Paul testifies to the stir the subject is making in that part of Minnesota. At the real estate exchange, on the morning of the same day, the question of taxation in general, and of mortgages in particular, was formally debated by members and others, and a resolution was passed that the legislature be petitioned to relieve mortgages of taxation and to pass stricter laws with regard to assessments. Apparently, the forces for and against the single tax there are arraying themselves face to face, the single tax men having the good fortune to be opposed by the representatives of the speculators in vacant land in a region where labor's most urgent need is the use of that land. The report of Mr. Shearman's speech in the St. Paul Globe betrays a sympathy with his views.

## Permanent Headquarters in St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The St. Louis single tax league has reorganized, rented permanent headquarters at 1109 Washington avenue, and it is hoped fairly entered on a prosperous career. The new officers are: Hamlin Russell, president, 2763 Bacon street; Stephen M. Ryan, vice-president, 1125 North Third street; B. E. Bloom, recording secretary, 4134 Gano avenue; George S. Bonnell, financial secretary, 1537 Leffingwell avenue; E. F. Meyer, treasurer, 2725 North Twelfth street.

The new headquarters are in a large front parlor, plainly but comfortably furnished, and will be open daily for the use of members and their friends. The literature of the single tax ideas will be found in abundance upon the center table, and it is expected that some members of the league will be present every evening to welcome strangers, friends

or foes, who want to discuss the question around the open grate fire.

The league makes this new move under promising auspices. The circulation of a subscription paper by the ways and means committee appointed at the preliminary meeting at Mr. Ryan's store, resulted in raising \$50. A part of this sum was expended in the purchase of chairs, gas fixtures, etc., and at the first meeting in the new club room about fifty single tax men took part.

Messrs. Cullen & Kelley, liverymen, kindly loaned us several dozen chairs for the occasion and delivered them at the door and took them away again after the meeting free of charge.

Philip Roeder, the newsman at Fourth and Olive streets, prompted no doubt by the fact that his STANDARD sales are on the increase, presented the league with four handsome books for the use of the secretaries and treasurer.

The folding doors which separate the back from the front parlor can be thrown open if we desire it, and in this manner at least one hundred people can be comfortably seated. It is not, however, proposed to hold set public meetings at these rooms as a general thing. Such meetings, if found advisable, will probably be held in some larger hall, the club room being used chiefly as a gathering place where plans can be matured, ideas exchanged and wits sharpened by discussion.

All single tax men in the city are requested to call at the rooms and hand in their names for membership. Friends who want to discuss single tax doctrines or foes who wish to cross swords with its advocates, are welcome, and inquirers who have not yet fully accepted the doctrine are particularly invited to come and discuss the subject on any evening except the regular business meeting night, which is fixed for Tuesday of each week.

HAMLIN RUSSELL,  
President S. T. L.

## Let Senator Palmer Settle It With Dr. Folwell.

CADILLAC, Mich.—I observe that the particular objection of Dr. Folwell to the single tax is, that the revenue derived would be barely enough for times of peace, and nothing left for the purpose of carrying on war, or even commencing war, or providing for disasters, by floods, grasshoppers, cyclones, etc. In respect to this point United States senator Thomas W. Palmer of this state, in an oration on "The relation of educated men to the state," delivered before the alumni of the University of Michigan, June 20, 1887, said: "This (taxation of land values) would create a surplus in the treasury, to which any former surplus would be a bagatelle. This must be expended in useless wars of conquest, in vast schemes of internal improvement, or by direct division among the citizens."

JAMES CROLEY.

## In Honor of Jefferson.

The Cleveland single tax men are preparing to celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson in accordance with the suggestion of the Ohio single tax conference.

## A Candidate With a Will.

Reynolds's Weekly.

A remarkable course has been taken by Mr. George Davison, of Hereford England—a retired nurseryman—as the result of his rejection in the recent election of county councillors for that city. He has altered his mind about certain "large sums of money" which he was going to bequeath (upon his death) for the good of the city. He now openly proclaims his intention to withhold them, in the following letter, written by his solicitor, and published in the Hereford Times yesterday evening. The solicitor, Mr. James Corner, writes:—I have no doubt that many of the inhabitants of Hereford will regret that, consequent upon the rejection of their old citizen, Mr. George Davison, at the recent election of county Councillors, Herefordians will be deprived of considerable benefits. Recently, through my firm, arrangements have been completed by which, at Mr. Davison's death, large sums of money and other substantial benefits would be placed at the disposal of the corporation for the benefit of the citizens, in addition to which the funds of certain institutions in the city would be increased to a large extent. These gifts and benefits will now be withdrawn. I violate no confidence in announcing the above, as I have Mr. Davison's permission to do so. The old truth, however, still remains, that the world often fails to appreciate some of its best friends."

## And So Everybody Must Pay Fifteen Cents a Hundred Pounds Extra for Lead.

New York Press-Tribune Talk.

"Pa," said the small boy, "why do you say that the duty ought to be taken off lead?"

"Because, my son," said his father, indulgently, "we could then buy it from England for 3 90-100 cents a pound."

"But, pa, we get it now for 4 5-100 cents a pound, and if the duty is taken off, 15,000 miners in the Missouri lead country will be thrown out of employment. That is what the president of the biggest lead mining company in Missouri says."

"Be quiet, boy," said the father. "You've been reading the Press again."

## The Real Meaning of the Chicago Conference.

Chicago Correspondent to New York Post.

The significance of the conference is that the defeat of Cleveland has made the reform temper, especially in the northwest, more determined; and the clear meaning of this is that if the protected interests do not permit a reform of the tariff, they will have to suffer the destruction of the whole protective system at one blow.



## PRESENT SOCIAL INEQUALITIES.

**Hugh O. Pentecost Shows That They Are the Product of Bad Laws.**

In the third address of his series entitled "Can human nature be changed by law?" Mr. Pentecost last Sunday showed that statute laws, embodied in governmental constitutions and other forms of legislation, are very largely responsible for the social inequalities with which we are familiar. The full text appears in the Twentieth Century. The following extracts indicate the thread of the discourse:

Supposing I could get a law passed that I should have the exclusive control of some article of general and constant consumption by the people—peanuts, if you like—any one can see that I would grow enormously rich. It would require industry, executive ability and constant vigilance on my part to manage such a business. I would not be an idler. I would be a producer and exchanger. But I would not become rich because I was industrious and capable, but because of the law which enabled me to prevent other people from competing with me and determine how plentifully or scantily the market would be supplied with peanuts. It is true that I would have to give many people employment and no doubt I would be pointed toward with pride by the clergy and press as a useful and benevolent person because I permitted so many persons to each produce me a bushel of peanuts out of which I gave each a pint as wages, but it should be perfectly plain to every one that the law made for my especial benefit is what would really enrich me and, by so much as it gave me more than I could earn without it, impoverished others.

You only have to reflect that one man practically controls all the telegraph lines in this country, that a few men own the railroads, that the same few own the coal mines, that another few control all the sugar we use, and so on, in order to understand how law actually does produce these inequalities. And this is what I am going to try to make very plain to you.

But first let me dispose of some of the commonly supposed reasons why some are rich and others poor.

The first of these that I shall notice is that God wills it. We are told that there always have been rich and poor people, and that there always will be; that it is evidently a providential arrangement, and that it has the express sanction of Jesus. He said: "The poor ye have always with you." This is a very precious text for the rich, who use it as if it exhorts us to the duty of always seeing to it that the poor shall not depart out of the land. There are many who agree with Archdeacon Mackay-Smith in his recent utterance in Heber Newton's pulpit that it is necessary to have poor people in order that the gutters and sewers may be cleaned. To the average mind it seems rather odd that God should decree such differences in worldly condition among his own children, but this objection is met by the pious explanation that the poor will be compensated in the next world for their lack in this life, and by the declaration that poverty is really a blessing in disguise, because the Lord loveth whom he chasteneth, and privation and sorrow are necessary to the development of character.

If all this is really true, however, it is very remarkable that more rich Christians do not become voluntarily poor for the sake of the other-world compensation and the honor and blessing of poverty in this world. It needs no argument, I hope, to prove how false is such teaching. It is inconceivable that God can desire the suffering and degradation which attend poverty as we know it. . . . The same thing was said of slavery. Ministers used to say that the slaves ought to be very thankful that God had raised such kind masters to care for them, because otherwise they would be quite helpless and forlorn. They used to point out how much better off the slaves were than their ancestors in the forests of Africa, just as the same class of persons now tell us that the poor are better off than kings used to be, because they live in houses with chimneys, and have running water in the hallway of every floor in the tenement. No man in this country would now think of saying that slavery was a divine institution, but they do not hesitate to declare that poverty is. We have learned that men were slaves because stronger men enslaved them, and we shall yet learn that men are poor because other men impoverished them by unjust legislation.

Then there is that wretched doctrine of Malthus, himself a priest of the English church, a doctrine as dear to the favored classes as the one to which I have just alluded. Malthus taught, as everybody knows, that population tends to press upon the means of subsistence and if it were not for wars, pestilence and accident, together with voluntary checks by parents refraining to reproduce their kind, the world would be overrun with people. He said that because this is true, theoretically, of rabbits or even slow breeding elephants, it is therefore true of man. The reason why so many are poor, according to this infernal theory, is that there is not and can not be enough wealth to go around and in the struggle for what there is the fittest get the most, as it is quite right that they should.

The Malthusian doctrine, however, is false. This earth is not crowded with inhabitants

and never will be. It is doubtful if there are any more people upon its surface now than there were thousands of years ago. Population shifts but does not much increase. It only seems to be crowded because natural opportunities are withheld from use. Even should population increase very rapidly, men will always be able to take care of themselves if they have a chance, because, unlike rabbits, man not only consumes the product of the field, but he makes ten blades of grass grow where only one grew before. Up to any extent of population that we are likely ever to reach, it may be truthfully said that the more people there are the more wealth each may have, if they are only wise enough to work together for good. This is really a poverty stricken world at present, even with its sparse population, because we do not as yet understand what open natural opportunities and co-operative labor are.

Malthusians do not comprehend the ability of man to produce food by wise industry freely applied to natural opportunities, and do not seem to take into account that as we increase in wealth the tendency is to propagate less rapidly. It is the poor who have large families. As man becomes more prosperous the animal passions dominate him less imperiously. He has fewer children of better quality because with better surroundings. The whole population of the world could live in the United States under right conditions and be richer than they are now. It is not the niggardliness of natures that keeps nine-tenths of the people poor. It is the meanness, the short-sighted selfishness of the one-tenth who make our laws for their own supposed but not actual benefit. I say short-sighted selfishness because when inequalities of wealth are as great as now the poor are a constant trouble and menace to the rich. Even the rich would be better off if they were less rich in a community where there were no poor.

The most popular explanation of poverty, however, is that which declares that only those are poor who are inefficient or unworthy. The intelligent, the industrious, the economical, the sober men become rich, we are told, and those of reverse characters become or remain poor.

Take the average New York dude. He is generally rich, but he is never especially intellectual, industrious, economical or sober. He has, as a rule, neither good sense, good morals nor good manners. He is a stupendous joke; a living curiosity; a veritable missing link; a kind of flotsam and jetsam, something that the tide washes in. The average mechanic is more than his equal in everything that describes a man except wealth. Do you tell me that the dude has climbed to wealth and station by personal merit and the mechanic is beaten in the struggle for existence because he is an inferior?

Take the average rich American anywhere, and you will find neither a very intelligent nor very worthy person. You may find a man who obtained his start in life thirty or forty years ago under conditions and opportunities which no longer exist, by working early and late and sacrificing friends, pleasures and every reasonable recreation for the sake of saving a few precious dollars, which he was shrewd enough to invest in something where it would work for him—that is, where it would increase by law while he slept, or while he went on saving more money, by losing everything else worth having. Money was his god, more desirable than fine feeling or general intelligence. He was a worker in his early life, and is a worker still, but if you get to know him well you will find that his intelligence extends only to the art of making money, his industry is inspired by nothing nobler than the love of money; his economy consists in not having things that are really worth more than money, and his sobriety is based upon the idea that liquor costs money. I have met many such men, and they have neither fine minds nor fine characters. They know nothing of books, nor art, nor music, nor friendship, nor high thinking. They know how to make money and how to keep it, and that is all.

Riches once obtained tend to develop mind and character, as you may see by observing the best of the children of the vulgar rich; but they are obtained, as a rule, by men of coarse natures and very little conscience; men who are shrewd and hard; men who, by concentrating their whole mind upon the subject of money-getting, learn how to buy land or make other fortunate investments; men who know no mercy in exacting every penny from friend or foe that by any possibility can be obtained; men who have the cunning of a fox, the heart of a beast of prey, and the claws of a hyena.

That men become rich because they are mentally and morally superior is a mistake. They become rich, as a rule, because they are shrewd, not very conscientious, and sufficiently hard hearted to not allow considerations of humanity to interfere with their accumulating money. They become rich because when they once get a start there is a ladder of special legislation ready for them upon which they can climb to the top of the coach.

But there is another type of rich man whose wealth cannot be accounted for by his superior personal qualities. He is not economical nor particularly sober, and he is only industrious in taking care for the main chance. He is not especially intelligent, although he is what is called "sharp." He may have begun business in a bucket shop, which is simply a gambling place. From the bucket shop he may have graduated into the stock exchange.

This man becomes a great "financier," as it is called when stocks and bonds are played with instead of cards and dice. He grows rich without self denial even, to begin with; he becomes powerful in church and state without much brains or character. There are multitudes of poor men all about him with more head, more heart, more soul, more conscience, than he, who are a greater credit to our race and more useful to the world. They are poor, not because they lack fine qualities, but because they possess them.

There is another type of man who gets rich merely because he has capital. It is not great ability that makes money now so much as great capital. The time was that a man could begin at the bottom and work up to moderate wealth by the kind of devotion to business that I have already described. But that time has gone by. Benjamin Franklin could walk into Philadelphia a hundred and fifty years ago with his wardrobe in a pocket handkerchief and fifty cents in his pocket, and in a little time buy out the printing office in which he worked, but if he should try to do that to-day he would find it more difficult. If he was not arrested as a tramp before he could find work he would soon discover that he would have to live on cold water and bean porridge and Poor Richard's maxims a long time before he could save enough to buy out a city newspaper now or even start one that could possibly compete with those already in the field. The day when economy and industry could lay the basis of a fortune is gone. What is needed now is capital and mercilessness in crushing out all competitors. The farmer boys who foot it to New York nowadays and become millionaires are very scarce indeed. The men who get rich now are those who have inherited capital already well invested; men who have grown up in the business with their sturdy fathers; men who are the capitalistic wheels in a machine that is already running.

## TECUMSEH AND HARRISON.

**The Old Indian Crowded "Tippecanoe" for an Answer to a Pertinent Question.**  
Vincennes, Ind., Commercial.

General Harrison had fears that Tecumseh, who was visiting the Indian tribes along the valleys of the Wabash and Illinois rivers in 1810, was stirring them up to war, and conceived that Vincennes would be the first point of attack. Desirous of averting any such danger, General Harrison sent a messenger to Tecumseh at Prophet's Town inviting him to a council to be held in Vincennes. Fearing treachery, General Harrison stationed armed men in close proximity to the Harrison mansion, yet standing just north of the O. & M. railroad, near the bridge. Mr. Bouche relates this conversation as it has been told in his family ever since. He says it is not exactly as the histories relate the circumstances, but he says the histories are not exactly right.

Joseph Barron and Pierre La Plante, Mr. Bouche went on to say, were the interpreters. Tecumseh told Barron to tell his Big Man to bring a bench, that he wanted to talk sitting on it. "What do you want that for?" General Harrison asked him through the interpreter, who understood the Shawnee language quite well. "To sit down by him," answered Tecumseh.

There was no bench accessible save the rude puncheon benches in the Catholic church. One of these was procured, and the men sat down on it. Harrison and all present were not a little curious to know what Tecumseh would do in a treaty with the bench. When they sat down together Tecumseh sat close to Harrison, even crowding him. Harrison moved away a little, but Tecumseh followed him up, and still crowded him. Not a word was said while this was going on. At last Harrison reached the end of the seat, and then he said to the interpreter: "Tell him he is about to crowd me off." This was Tecumseh's opportunity, and he straightened up in his seat, saying to the interpreter: "Eh! ight? ask the Big Man how he would like for me to crowd him clear off? Ask how he would like for me to crowd him clear out of the country, as he is crowding me and my people? Tell him that we were once to the sea on the east, but we have been crowded back and off. Tell him that all the earth—the hills, the valleys, the forests and the streams and all the fullness thereof were ours one time, but now the pale face has crowded us back until only the space toward the setting sun is ours."

The proud and bold warrior had made his point, and it was a forcible argument, such as was felt by all present. It was an impeachment of the methods used by the white people to acquire their lands. General Harrison replied that they had dealt fairly and honestly with them, always having regard for justice and right. To this Tecumseh said: "Tell the Big Man he is a liar." Harrison said: "We bought our lands from the chiefs that occupied them." "Tell him he is a liar," insisted Tecumseh; "I am the chief. No one has a right to dispose of the earth."

This heated controversy broke off the treaty for two or three days. There were some who wanted to kill Tecumseh and end the whole matter, but Harrison threatened to bind the one in chains who would dare do such a deed of violence to his invited guest.

The treaty, however, was not accomplished at all, and Tecumseh started south.

## Is More Protection Needed?

Notices of reductions in wages of iron workers, to take effect about March 1, having recently been made in Reading, Harrisburg, Pottstown, Pottsville, Birdsboro and other places, a joint meeting of delegates representing all the iron workers affected in these cities will be held soon to decide whether or not to accept. If the reduction is made it will bring puddlers' wages down to \$3 and \$3.25 per ton, which is lower than for many years, and all other employes will be reduced from seven to ten per cent. The employes affected by the notices of reduction number between 3,000 and 4,000.—[New York Sun.

## SOME NEWSPAPER NOTES.

**Indications of What the Press is Talking About.**

The Rock Springs, Wyoming, Independent, says:

It is an admitted fact that taxation discourages the production of the article taxed so we tax dogs to lessen their number, and some of the prairie states exempt wood land from taxation to encourage tree planting. We want more houses, mills, factories—in fact more of all the products of labor and so it would seem as if an exemption of these from taxation would encourage the production of these things.

In support of its conclusion the Independent quotes the New York Times.

The El Dorado, Kan., Workman quotes THE STANDARD on the street car strike in which it advocated government ownership of railroads and running street cars free, expenses to be paid out of revenues raised by a single tax on land values. The Workman offers no objection to this solution of street car strikes.

The Clinton, Ind., Argus says that the west is becoming honeycombed with single tax men leagues and newspapers. It then quotes the Western Building Association Journal in favor of the single tax as an important acquisition to the movement.

The Zanesville, Ohio, Times-Recorder prints a communication from C. A. Potwin in which he tersely expounds the doctrine of the single tax. But the Times-Recorder is not doing its duty as a public teacher and leader so long as it keeps silent concerning this great radical reform, which must soon win public favor unless its principles are shown to be fallacious. If its editor does not feel well enough informed to treat a growing movement, the purpose of which is to reform society from bottom to top, he, and all editors similarly situated, should lose no time in mastering the single tax theory as taught in "Progress and Poverty."

The Lynn, Mass., Bee is one of that comparatively small class of papers that are free minded enough and honest enough to publish their opinions whether they concur with the predominating opinion of the public or not. The Bee is a persistent and able opponent of protection, and what would be more natural than that it should turn with a kindly feeling toward the single tax? It has recently reported at considerable length, and without dissent, local speeches in advocacy of the single tax, and in its issue of the 20th reprints in its editorial column Mr. George's reply to Allen W. Thurman's query with the remark that "the single tax law, as advocated by Henry George and his followers, still attracts the attention of men in all the walks of life."

Richard Brodhead Westbrook argues in the Philadelphia Record for the taxation of church property on the ground that its exemption is in conflict with the 11th section of Pennsylvania's bill of rights, which provides that no man can of right be compelled to support any place of worship against his will. He calls attention to the fact that the value of property officially reported to be exempt from taxation in New York state is \$500,000,000 and that it cannot fall far short of that amount in Pennsylvania, and truly says that such exemptions are equivalent to compelling donations of that amount from those who do pay taxes.

The South West of Fort Worth, Texas, contained in a recent issue two and one-half columns by D. C. David in favor of free trade and the single tax, and an article of the same length, by J. D. Rankin, against "George Communism."

## The People Own Water, Air and Sunlight Anyway.

The Sunday Morning News of Jersey City, N. J., has an article in its last issue headed, "Who Owns the Water?" It says that a Mr. Heppenheimer (who, by the way, believes himself to be a violent opponent of the single tax) wants to find out about the ownership of the water power of certain New Jersey rivers. The Society for establishing useful manufactures, a corporation that lamentably failed as a manufacturing concern, but made a glorious success of leasing its water power privileges to other people, is the chief object of Mr. Heppenheimer's attack. He introduced some resolutions into the assembly a few days ago that had the following questions embodied in them:

First—Whether the state has title as trustee of the public to the waters or not.

Second—Whether the state by virtue of such trusteeship has a right to control such waters and appropriate them for the common use of the people.

Third—Whether the right of appropriation and diversion exists as a private right and as an appurtenance to the ownership of the soil.

Fourth—Whether running water can be the subject of sale.

The Sunday Morning News takes occasion to say in this connection: "If the attorney general does not find that the pirates who have invaded the waters of the state have no more right to them than the air or the sunlight, it will be only because law and precedent are sometimes at war with common sense and justice."

## Came Within One of Getting it Right.

Forty-nine out of fifty persons need land.—[Speech at "Free Land" meeting, Denver.



## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THE STANDARD is forwarded to subscribers by the early morning mails each Thursday. Subscribers who do not receive the paper promptly will confer a favor by communicating with the publisher.

The Christian Union, "in order to call out comment and suggestion that might lead to practical results," and not at all because the editors think themselves "able to devise a panacea for the cure of labor troubles," has proposed a law, the essential principles of which are, first, that carrying corporations operating under a franchise from the state must submit disputes with its employees to arbitration; and second, that it shall be a misdemeanor for employees of such corporations to quit without notice of, say one week. The responses to this proposition are from Chief Arthur, of the locomotive engineers; General Master Workman Powderly, of the Knights of Labor; editor Tuckerman, of the Workman; Professor Ely, of Johns Hopkins University; Professor Clark, of Smith College; Professor Smith, of Columbia College, and Chauncey M. Depew. Mr. Arthur favors the proposition, provided the corporation is required to give the same notice to employees before discharging that employees are required to give to corporations before quitting. Professor Ely is not able to say that he entirely approves of the proposition, and the reader of his column contribution will surely not be able to say to what extent or in what respect the professor disapproves, or what he recommends. Professor Clarke favors the arbitration feature but opposes the penal clause requiring employees to give notice. Professor Smith presents a dilemma: With the present tendency to fix transportation rates at a minimum, and the probability that arbitration would, by increasing the pay roll, raise the expense account, dividends would be apt to disappear. He sees but two ways out of this dilemma: one, the cessation of railroad building, and the other, a state guarantee of reasonable dividends. But, he plaintively asks, if the state regulates expenses and dividends, "what remains of the 'private' character of the railroad business," and adds: "If we go that far the state may as well assume the ownership of the means of transportation at once." He thinks, however, that labor organizations are powerful enough and public opinion is sympathetic enough to secure fair wages without proceeding to "that doubtful experiment." Chauncey M. Depew looks upon compulsory arbitration as impracticable and, to the companies, unjust. He is also opposed to state ownership and to requiring notice from employees in advance of quitting work.

The most thoughtful and withal positive replies to the Christian Union's proposition are those of Mr. Powderly and Mr. Tuckerman, particularly that of the latter. Mr. Powderly sees no objection to arbitration, provided the court be empowered to examine the books and papers of the company for the purpose of discovering the amount of its profits; but he opposes the proposition to make it a penal offense to quit work without notice. He pointedly intimates that the proposition is a remedy which "aims only at the effect," letting the cause go un-

checked, and proposes, as the best plan for abolishing strikes on railways, the placing of all railway companies under the control of the government. Mr. Tuckerman says there is one solution, and only one, which is that "the public through its agents must operate all public franchises with the sole object of ministering to the public welfare."

This proposition of Mr. Tuckerman's is indeed the only solution of the railway problem as a whole. In its relation to strikes alone, whatever would make labor free, would put an end to railroad strikes as it would to all other strikes. The single tax would make labor free and thus prevent strikes; but the community would still be in many respects at the mercy of railroad corporations. The problem, considered as a whole, therefore, can be solved only by making railroads public concerns and managing them in the public interest. While this would not improve the general condition of labor, it would at once put an end to railroad strikes, just as public management of the post office, where men are as poorly paid and worked as hard as by railroads, has prevented strikes there. And it is due to the Christian Union to note its editorial admission that the proposition of Mr. Tuckerman is one which is attracting adherents, and "can no longer be pool-pooled off the stage of public discussion as unworthy of consideration."

The proposition stands upon a firm foundation, and is wholly independent of the philosophy of socialism. It is not a proposition to have the state go into private business, but one to prevent the state farming out public business. This is sound sense. The railroad business is operated under and by virtue of a franchise, which empowers it to confiscate private property and collect tolls, and without which it could do neither. The power resides in the state, belongs to the state, can be acquired by corporations only by concessions from the state, and is a public function as much as is that of collecting taxes or maintaining roads and bridges. It is this characteristic that makes the difference between state management of railroads and state management of factories, the one being a function which private concerns must acquire from the state, and the other a function which the state must acquire from private concerns. There is all the difference of resuming and assuming between state operation of railroads and state operation of factories.

The American Economist, the organ of the American tariff league, sends us a copy of its last issue, marked, with a request to notice an editorial it contains, entitled "Single Tax and Land Value." The first sentence states that in a recent discussion in THE STANDARD Henry George and Thomas G. Shearman admitted that all taxes on land diffuse themselves, "and rest finally on the labor and services of the tenants, with the effect to increase their rent by the amount of the tax."

If the writer of the editorial means to infer because taxes on land values are paid out of products of labor, that they increase land rent by the amount of the tax, his inference is too absurd to need refutation; and if he means to assert that either Mr. George or Mr. Shearman have admitted that the effect of land value taxation is to increase land rent by the amount of the tax, or at all, he states what he must know to be false, if he knows anything at all of the doctrines of these gentlemen.

The same article contains a proposition which it would be a pity not to catch and preserve. It is that the less desirable taxation makes it to own land, "the more reluctant landlords will be to improve it." Since no one ever heard of a landlord, as such, improving land, it would indeed be a pity should he stop improving it! Landowners have improved land, but they did so as laborers, not as landlords. Mere ownership of land never did and never can improve it. It is by using not

by owning land that it is improved; and ownership of the land does not promote improvement, though ownership of the improvement does. The true field of the American Economist is patent medicines, where neither science nor veracity is of any importance.

Six insane convicts were last week transferred from one of the state prisons to the state asylum for insane criminals. Of course there is no certainty that these men's insanity was due to their enforced idleness. But there is at least a strong presumption in that direction.

The convicts in the state prisons have been sentenced to a definite form of punishment—imprisonment with hard labor. The state has no more right to inflict insanity on its prisoners than it would have to change their punishment to death.

The town of Newcastle, Pa., is in distress. It already has within its limits a wire rod mill which uses a large quantity of steel, and it has been negotiating for the establishment, by a New York company, of a large steel producing plant. This would be a great thing for the Newcastle people, because the wire rod mill, getting its steel so close at hand, would make more money and so be enabled either to increase the wages of its hands or to extend its business and employ more hands—most probably the latter. Then, too, the steel plant would employ a lot of hands, and all this additional population would need house room, and that would involve an increase in the price of land. So that, on the whole, the Newcastle folks—that is, of course, the real folks, the folks that own Newcastle, were in a fair way to make a pretty good thing of it.

And now, just when everything was as good as settled, a wretched law maker has introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature a bill to impose a three-mill tax on all the manufacturing corporations in the state, and the New York men say that if that is the way Pennsylvania is going to treat them, why, they think upon the whole they'd rather not. And so the town of Newcastle is in distress. Perhaps when their grief has become a little less poignant, they will do some thinking, and learn the lesson that there may be, after all, more absolutely certain methods of encouraging industry than by piling taxes on it.

### WEALTH.

In the beginning, nature freighted the earth with stores that the generations have left hardly touched.

Nature, besides, sends to man an annual message of good will, with gifts in profusion, and a promise of more. In the spring, numberless unseen messengers come from her, and re-carpet the land with green things. Not a plant without purpose, the weed itself a bounty whose use we do not yet know! Thence on, in the seasons, she completes a wondrous miracle. The germ is transformed into the fruit. Let nature forget but once her donation, and in a single year all men shall die.

Man labors. Receiving nature's gifts, he modifies their form to meet his needs and tastes. Is there other labor? Take man's hands from nature's clasp, and in a single year all men shall die.

Yet men call it wealth, that power some have of saying to others, "Work for us." Who has millions? None. Few have even hundreds. The rich have only bits of paper. Drafts on other men's labor! Discounts on nature's promises for the coming years!

Yet men call it wealth, that power one has to say to another: "Thou shalt not work on this spot! Here nature's gifts are mine—to be taken from her or to be flung back to her, unused."

Plainly, these conceptions of wealth must be reconsidered. They contravene the law of nature. HAGEN DWEN.

### Reading "Progress and Poverty."

BROOKLYN, Feb. 25.—The eastern district single tax club, at its weekly meeting on Saturday evening in Phoenix hall, commenced the reading of "Progress and Poverty." All who are interested are invited to attend these meetings. R. A. LINDSAY, Cor. Sec.

## MEN AND THINGS.

Deacon Richardson has presented a tip of \$500 to the Brooklyn police, in the shape of a contribution to the pension fund. He calls it "a slight recognition of aid rendered the Atlantic avenue company by the police in the recent strike."

The protectionist leaders will really have to do something with the gentle Shepard, or his zeal for political purity and proper recognition of political services will be leading him to tell all he knows. Here is an extract from one of his recent utterances in the Mail and Express—a paper which labors under the frightful disadvantage of being compelled to print all he chooses to write for it:

It is very certain that the powerful state of Michigan, as well as a very large majority of this state, of New England states, and of several of the other republican states, are looking hopefully to see that General Harrison will invite into a responsible position in his cabinet one grand man who, next after Mr. Blaine, is the most prominent statesman east of Ohio, west of Indiana to the Mississippi river; the man without whom General Harrison could not have been nominated at Chicago, and could not have carried this state; the man of eloquence and strength, of broad, general culture, of statesmanship, of unspotted and incorruptible integrity, and one who is loved in the homes of the Empire state as is no other leader of the people.

This is rather a short sentence for the Shepard, but he has managed to squeeze several important insinuations into it. We gather from it, in the first place, that the most prominent statesmen in the United States—except Mr. Blaine, of course—are to be found between the eastern boundary of Ohio and the western boundary of Indiana; next, that even with the aid of these gentlemen of prominence, General Harrison would have been defeated in this state, had not another statesman—manifestly a third rate at least since Mr. Blaine and the Ohio-Indiana gentlemen outranked him—rushed to the rescue; next, that it took a man of unspotted and incorruptible integrity to carry Indiana; and finally, that the people of New York, when in their homes, love this east-of-Ohio-west-of-Indiana man more than they do Mr. Blaine, General Harrison, or any other "leader of the people."

Colonel Shepard is evidently trying to boom somebody. It may be Warner Miller for the treasury; or it may be himself for the attorney generalship. But he would do well to be a little more explicit, or General Harrison may fail to understand him.

At the recent auction sale of the Joshua Jones estate in this city, a single lot and house, No. 203 Broadway, was sold for \$211,000. The same property is valued for taxing purposes by the city assessors at \$64,000, or a trifle more than thirty per cent of its actual value.

The Evening Post of Saturday last contains a little table showing the dates and figures at which some of this Jones property was bought, and comparing them with the prices realized at last week's sale. From this we learn that \$160,000 invested in 1881 realized \$255,000 in 1889, a profit of 59 3-10 per cent, or 7 4-10 per cent a year; \$263,400 invested in 1882 increased to \$360,150, a profit of 36 7-10 per cent, or 5 2-10 per cent a year; \$36,000 invested in 1883 brought \$48,900, an increase of 5 1-2 per cent a year; and \$197,700 invested in 1885 swelled to \$238,000 in 1889, or at the rate of 6 1-10 per cent annually.

Remembering that most of this property, if not all of it, has been bringing in an annual rental of ten per cent or more of its cost price, it is easy to see which way the royal road to riches lies.

A bill for a new charter for the city of Cincinnati has been introduced into the Ohio legislature, the object being to center the management of city affairs in the mayor. He is to have the power of appointing the heads of the various departments—law, public works, police, etc.—subject to confirmation by the board of aldermen. Only freeholders are to be eligible for aldermen, and any twenty freeholders may at any time prefer charges against the mayor, which shall be tried before the supreme court.

One thing noticeable about this measure is its illustration of the way in which the rudiments of a great truth may survive in the human mind, long after the truth itself has ceased to be acknowledged. It is like the muscles for shaking the skin and pricking the ears. Physiologists assure us that we have them still,



though we don't know it. We have lost the use of them for want of exercise; but, in rudimentary form, they still form part of our anatomy.

Why should the Ohio legislature be asked to provide that only a freeholder shall be eligible for mayor of Cincinnati, and that none but freeholders shall be privileged to call him to account? Such a provision would be no safeguard whatever, either against a mayor's malfeasance, or against his annoyance by political opponents. It is one of the easiest things imaginable for a man to become a freeholder—so long as he doesn't seek to exercise the real functions of a freeholder and use the piece of planet he is supposed to own. In this little city of Plainfield every applicant for a liquor license is obliged to get the indorsement of a certain number of freeholders, and they never have any difficulty about it. When they want freeholders they make them to order, at a cost which is merely nominal. And what is so easily done in Plainfield can be done with equal ease in Cincinnati.

The answer is, that, deep down in their hearts, the men who are striving for political reform in Cincinnati have an unconscious perception of the truth that a man who is shut out from the privilege of using the earth is not a complete man. They see dimly that his place is among the governed and not among the governors, and therefore they seek, so far as the fundamental law will allow them, to deprive him of political rights. It is not the man who *does* not own land whom they are seeking to disfranchise. They would acknowledge readily enough that a wealthy merchant, or an eminent physician or lawyer, may be a thoroughly desirable and trustworthy citizen, though he may not be able to show a paper title to a single square foot of the earth's surface. It is the man who *cannot* own land whom they are after, the disinherited one, who is forbidden to apply his labor productively until some luckier man gives leave, and who, consequently, must sell whatever he has that the luckier man will buy—the labor of his hands, his political rights, his moral principles, in short, his very manhood, if needs must.

Nature is very patient, but absolutely unrelenting. She never fails to get square in the long run. When her laws are obstructed the penalty must be paid, somewhere, somehow, sometime, by somebody. The Cincinnati reformers haven't found this out yet. They still think that men are wiser and more powerful than God, and can take the management of the universe out of his hands and run it according to laws of their own. By and by they may discover their mistake. If they don't it will be the worse for Cincinnati.

The Sun publishes a comparative statement of two bills of shirtings, sheetings, drills, prints, and other cotton goods, sold by Mr. William R. Moore, of Memphis, Tenn., to Mr. William White, of Fernando, Miss., the one in 1860 and the other in 1888. The 1888 prices are from thirty to fifty per cent lower than those of 1860, and the Sun editorially suggests that every southern farmer should write to the Hon. Roger Q. Mills, "demanding an explanation or an apology."

It is not probable that the southern farmers will take the Sun's advice. But it is to be wished they would. For the Hon. Roger Q. Mills would have no difficulty in pointing out to them that because an apple of 1860 is smaller than a watermelon of 1888, it does not, therefore, follow that a particular kind of fertilizer is good for watermelons. If Mr. William White of Fernando, Mississippi, wants to know what the tariff really does for him, let him go into the markets of the world, where the price of the crop he has to sell is fixed, and see what he can buy his sheetings and the other things for there. If he does that, he will perhaps feel like withdrawing his custom from Mr. William R. Moore of Memphis. But he can't withdraw his custom. The tariff won't let him. That's what the tariff is for.

In the same tariff talk—and it really is a very good imitation of the Press's talk—the Sun lets out the fact that the Mississippi farmer hasn't always bought of the Tennessee storekeeper for cash. He buys for cash now, but he used to buy for cotton. And whereas the storekeeper only allowed him eight and a half cents a pound in 1888, he can now sell the same grade in Memphis for "between nine and ten cents a pound." I venture the suggestion that every northern wearer of cotton shirts should address the editor of

the Sun inquiring whether, in view of this increase in the cost of a necessity of life, it wasn't an economic mistake to abolish slavery, and inviting him to explain or apologize. They will point out to him, of course, that if the tariff is a good thing because shirtings are cheaper now than they were in 1860, then, by parity of reasoning, abolition must have been a bad thing because cotton is dearer.

But the Sun editor will have no trouble in answering the question. He will point out to these correspondents that Memphis is in every way much nearer the markets of the world than she used to be. She can sell her cotton in Liverpool by telegraph, whereas in 1860 she had first to ship it to New Orleans and subject it to all sorts of brokerages and expenses there, besides taking the risk of the changes in the Liverpool market. Moreover, she can get her cotton carried from the Mississippi to the Mersey for a mere fraction of what it used to cost her. In short, she has greater facilities of intercourse—freer trade—with the world at large than she used to have. And therefore she can afford to pay Mr. White of Fernando a higher price for cotton than she used to.

It might also be a good plan for somebody to write to Mr. William White, at Fernando, Miss., and ask what he thinks about it all. Allowing for the greater economy of high priced free labor over low priced slave labor, does he find the cultivation of cotton more profitable than it was in 1860? Is the most necessary implement of cotton culture—the land on which to grow the cotton—higher or lower in price, as compared with 1860? Is it all being used, or is just a little of it kept lying idle, waiting till cotton growers want to use it so badly that they will pay an extra price for the privilege? It would be rather interesting to hear from Mr. White.

The Servia of the Cunard line arrived in New York on her last voyage forty-eight hours late. The reason was that she had no firemen on board to feed her furnaces, and so could not get steam enough to maintain her usual speed. Firemen's wages are higher now in Liverpool than they used to be, and so the Cunard company have decided not to employ them any more. Instead of firemen, they hire unskilled laborers, who know nothing about feeding furnaces, and wouldn't be good for much if they did know. Because they get seasick as soon as the ship reaches rough water, and are pretty apt to stay seasick until she gets across the Atlantic. And so the Servia came in forty-eight hours late.

Now, when a passenger buys a ticket by the Cunard line, he buys a contract. The company engages to feed him, to lodge him, to wait on him, to transport him. He is to be fed on wholesome food, to be lodged comfortably, to be waited on with decency and attention, to be transported with speed and safety. Suppose the price of fresh provisions should advance in London. Would that be a reason why the Cunard company should feed their passengers on mess pork and hard tack? Suppose crockery went up in price. Would that be a good excuse for setting the dining table with tin pots and pans? It would be hard to say why not, unless we are willing to admit at the same time that when the company refuses to employ firemen, and so delay passengers and cargo for forty-eight hours, they are guilty of an impudent fraud on the people who have bought passage tickets, and the merchants who have shipped goods. Suppose the Servia had sprung a leak and foundered for want of sufficient steaming power to bring her into port while yet she floated? A pretty "act of God" that would have been, wouldn't it? Yet that is just what the Cunard company would have called it.

As for the poor wretches of firemen who are resting idle in Liverpool because the Cunard company prefers to risk a thousand lives rather than spend a thousand dollars—as for them, the police will look after them and see that they behave. They must take care not to interfere with property or comfort. It is a pity there are no policemen to look after the Cunard company.

T. L. MCCREADY.

Those Who Were Too Poor to Advertise Went to the Charity Woodyard.

New York Press.

In Harlem there lived a young man Who said "I'll get work if I can." He put a "Want" in the Press, And relieved his distress, For employers after him ran.

## SOMETHING TO DO.

A Kind of Work in Which Any One May Take Part.

My mind has long been dwelling on a plan for an organized method of pushing the single tax truths. I have mentioned it to several active men in the movement, and they have approved of the idea. For a while I had the impression that it might be well to confine the knowledge of its operation to people of our economic creed, but of late I have thought it best to make it public.

This plan has suggested itself to me while considering the situation of numerous single tax workers with relation to people who do not understand our proposed reform, but who might be induced to consider it seriously.

I have met in many places, in America and in the Old World, men and women anxious to do whatever lay in their power to advance the teachings of Henry George. No doubt there are many such people in every part of the world. Hope thrills them at the thought of the emancipation of labor from the slavish dependence in which it commonly exists, and they see that independence must come to men with a restoration of their rightful inheritance in the one source of wealth, the mother earth. While these men and women are doing what they can singly, some are aware that they have not the gift of ready speech and are timid; some have but little time or opportunity to go about seeking to make converts; some know that any open activity in the cause would entail the loss of their means of gaining a livelihood, and all feel the need of more strength than can be put forth in the efforts of one person.

Not a day passes but yields abundant evidence that many fair-minded people still have strangely perverted notions of what "Georgeism" is, and what manner of men the advocates of the single tax are. Not a few good citizens of this country entertain a vague belief that "Georgeism" is something like a transplanted Fenianism, others regard it as a form of what they call anarchism, and very many give it no attention, simply looking upon it as one of the passing phases which the discontent of workmen has taken on here, and which in their belief are all destined to wane as labor in America adjusts itself to changed industrial conditions—that is to say, reconciles itself to the inevitable hopeless and well-nigh dumb poverty of labor in Europe. A persistent presentation to such people of the doctrine of the single tax, with evidence that many thousand intelligent and respectable fellow countrymen are convinced that the way to abolish involuntary poverty has really been made plain, would tend to bring them to a sense of their duty to examine carefully both the principles on which the conviction is based and the steps that are urged as practical in applying these principles to government. And on some acquaintance with the supporters of the single tax movement, even their opponents would not fail to be impressed with their average character and standing. Instead of fanatics, or pursuers of a will-o'-the-wisp, or a brotherhood with peculiar morals, they would be seen as a wholesome body of plain American citizens, united in a determination to carry out a great purpose, which has been conceived with perfect clearness and is capable of being achieved in strict harmony with the law. And it would be further learned that the single tax people are the Americans of Americans—that their political principles are precisely the same as those of the inspired lovers of humanity who gave to the world the declaration of American independence and the light of American liberty.

Hardly a week goes by but that some person of prominence somewhere gives voice to sentiments on the social question that do him honor. One protests against the un-Americanism of monopolists and a proletariat; another sees a meaning in divine revelation beyond conventional utterance in the pulpit; and another betrays that he is more than half inclined to declare that the natural right of every man to the free use of land is self-evident, and that a denial of this right is a primary wrong.

Now, in these circumstances I see an opportunity for all to go to work who are willing to do something for the single tax. They may easily mass their strength for the purpose of putting the facts of their case before our public teachers and the public itself, of replying to inquirers, and of exhorting the hesitating or the over diplomatic to speak out boldly and

honestly in upholding the broadest principle of social justice.

My plan is the organization of a letter writing corps. I propose—

(1) That each member on enlisting shall promise to write one single tax letter a week for a stated period and shall send to a central bureau thirteen stamped envelopes addressed to himself, to be used in communicating with him from the bureau during the ensuing three months. At the end of that time he may continue his membership by sending thirteen more envelopes.

(2) That the work of the central bureau, to be done or paid for by volunteers, shall be the issuing of a weekly circular containing suggestions to the members as to what people it might be well to write to, and stating what expressions or other occasion have furnished ground for addressing them.

(3) That upon receiving the circular a member shall write to one of the persons named in it, selecting the one he deems he can most successfully appeal to. A United States senator or the governor of a state showing evidences of sympathy with or a disposition to inquire into our economic views could be written to by all the members so disposed. A man of lesser political prominence might be addressed by members living in his locality. To a minister of religion, the people of his own faith could write with propriety. Newspaper editors could be taken in hand by everybody.

(4) That the doctrine of free land, in its moral or economic aspect, shall alone be the subject of the letters.

In case writing the weekly circular and preparing it for the mail should cost nothing, the only expense at the central bureau would be the slight one of printing it, and doubtless this could be met by those members of the corps who would occasionally send in an extra stamp. The matter for the circular—the names of the people and the newspapers to be written to, and the reasons for believing that it would be profitable to endeavor to interest them—could be supplied by members of the letter-writing corps and friends of the movement gratis.

The man who receives five letters calling his attention to any question whatever, does not dismiss the matter lightly. The public man who shall receive five hundred letters from believers in the single tax will understand in his amazement that it is time to stop and think about what they are doing. He will not be obliged, as is often the case with those who receive letters from the public, to throw perhaps four out of five aside as hardly worthy of attention. He will be enabled to see the land and labor question in the light of many minds and of ample evidence. He will have reason to be impressed with the ability of his correspondents to handle their subject, and it is not too much to hope that he will be impelled to make such an inquiry into it as will settle his convictions. He will certainly feel assured that if converted he will land in good company.

To bring the plan at once to the practical stage, inviting, however, suggestions as to improving it, I herewith subscribe \$10 to a fund for its furtherance, and invite all who are inclined to join the corps to send their thirteen self-addressed and stamped envelopes to me. I offer to direct the central bureau, as I cannot think of any method by which a manager could be chosen.

J. W. SULLIVAN,  
STANDARD Office, New York.

## Henry Anketill Speaks in Belfast.

In its issue of February 9 the Belfast, Ireland, Evening Telegraph devotes three columns to an address by Henry Anketill before the United Trades Council of Belfast. The Telegraph is careful to say that in printing this address it does not in any way indorse the sentiments therein expressed, and the Trades Council, an Orange organization, was likewise anxious to have it understood that in permitting the address to be made they did not commit themselves to Mr. Anketill's ideas. As it is not more than a year since Mr. Anketill was connected with THE STANDARD it can easily be inferred what his ideas on taxation are. The admirable speech which he made on this occasion will be printed in pamphlet form and circulated in Belfast.

## A Good Suggestion.

New York Press.

Ballot reform is in the interest of the people and their rights, as against those who like to control the votes of others, whether by intimidation or by heavy campaign assessments that make it impossible for a poor man to run for office without selling himself to a rich politician.

Every poor man should write a postal card to his representatives in the senate and the assembly, telling them to vote for ballot reform. A postal card costs just one cent.



## CURRENT THOUGHT.

Professor Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, is a professor of political economy. His opinions are accepted as authority, without discussion, by a large class of cultured Americans, and are quoted by many with the confidence that attaches to mathematical formulae. His teachings from the university chair are shaping and directing the thoughts of liberally educated men. Such a man enjoys great privileges and rests under weighty responsibilities. He can do great good or greater harm. He *must* do one or the other. Teaching truth, he will necessarily promote human happiness by hastening the extirpation of human error. Teaching falsehood, he will, equally of necessity, prolong human misery by hindering multitudes from seeing and acting on the truth. There is absolutely no middle ground on which, for a single instant, he can find standing room.

Clearly, when such a man speaks, he is entitled to both a respectful hearing and to searching criticism. This is true at all times, but it is doubly true when he speaks as a teacher to his pupils. For in such case his words have double power.

Among the "Required readings" for students of the Chautauqua university, published in the February issue of the Chautauquan, is an essay by Professor Ely on "Taxation." It is not, and does not pretend to be, exhaustive. It simply skims the subject. But it does lay down several leading principles, and will, almost inevitably, direct the minds of those who read it without any previous consideration of the subject, into certain channels of thought.

The essay opens with an inquiry into the ethics of taxation. Is taxation right or wrong, and why? The professor decides that it is right—so right that it is actually "a part of the right of private property" and "to attack the one right is to attempt to invade the other." The argument to this conclusion is ingenious. It rests upon the postulate that "the state is older than civilized man." This sounds queer when one thinks of it for a minute. Because civilization is the organization of men for the mutual respecting of individual rights—in other words their organization into a state; and how a state can exist without at least some crude form of such organization is somewhat of a puzzle. It is like saying that life existed before living things, or like singular theory of some economists that capital had to set labor to work before labor could produce any capital. Nevertheless Professor Ely makes it the foundation for his whole theory of taxation, and unless it be admitted the theory falls to the ground. For the sake of continuing the argument, then, we must accept the professor's hypothesis and admit, under protest, that civilization existed before there were any civilized men. This being done, the logic goes on swimmingly, as follows:

The state having brought into being the civilization without which the state would be an impossibility, it follows that property is, likewise, a creation of the state. "This is clearly seen," Professor Ely says, "if we compare various countries, for we shall find that what is private property in one is not private property in another." In some countries railroads are private property, in others public. At different periods land has been sometimes private property and sometimes public. "In forests in parts of Germany peasants may gather fagots for fuel. The law allows this. A change in the law might forbid it and make it theft."

Now, civilized man and civilized man's property being alike the creation of the state, it is evident that the state has the right to limit the civilized man's right of property in any way it pleases. It can forbid him to retain more than one-half, or one-third, or one-tenth of it. It can take it all away from him if it sees fit. Thus the right to tax goes hand in hand with the right of private property. "Both have grown up together, and both are defended alike by constituted authorities. It may be said that to attack the one right is to attempt to invade the other. Curious as it may seem," the professor goes on to say—"curious as it may seem, Henry George, who denies the right of private property in land, disputes also the right of government to lay taxes, as ordinarily understood, and calls taxation robbery." We confess to an inability to discern the curiousness of Henry George's position. But let that pass.

It would be easy to disprove this argu-

ment, even while granting the postulate on which it rests, by reducing it to absurdity. It would be easy to remind Mr. Ely that, as a matter of historical fact, professors of political economy were once lawfully sold in the market place as private property, and could be used, as their owners might elect, either as teachers of orthodox moral science (including the rightfulness of private property in professors) or as a superior kind of food on which to fatten lampreys for their masters' tables. Apparently, however, Mr. Ely has seen the possibility of this sort of refutation and tried to guard against it. For right in the middle of his argument, and having no discoverable connection with anything else in it, he has inserted this remarkable sentence: "There are back of the law moral principles, and to these the law should conform." That saves him. It would be immoral to sell a political-economy professor at auction, or to use him as either bait or food for eels, or gudgeons, or—well, in short, the professor has a moral right to be allowed to live and do the best he can for himself. And so the reduction to absurdity is brought to naught. The only trouble is, that in its tumble it drags the whole of the professor's argument after it in a shapeless ruin.

For if the state has no right to make private property of professors, because of moral principles "back of the law," then clearly it has no right to make private property of anything else when it can be shown that to do so is to infringe a principle of morals. And thus, by Professor Ely's own admission, every right of private property rests, at bottom, not upon the law of the state, but upon the eternal law of right and wrong. And by parity of reasoning, the right of taxation must rest upon the same foundation. It is absurd to say that the state is estopped, by moral law, from seizing Professor Ely and selling him for what he will bring, and to admit in the same breath, that no moral law estops it from seizing the product of Professor Ely's labor, and selling that. It is quite true that the state actually does this very thing; and it is true, too, that Professor Ely sees no objection. But it remains absurd, just the same. Perhaps, if Mr. Ely considers matters in this light, it may seem to him less "curious" than it does now that men should deny the right of private property in land and at the same time call the ordinary method of taxation robbery.

But there is another ground on which the professor rests the right of taxation. "The government," he says, "is as truly a factor in the creation of wealth as land, labor or capital." Because, "without government we should have anarchy and a return to barbarism, which would destroy all production."

How closely one can graze the edge of a great truth and never see it. Now, if the professor had written "community" instead of "government," a flood of light might have burst upon him. For the community—the collective mass of the people—really does add to production. Capital and labor applied to the production of clothing, for example, or bread, or boots, or beer, will produce more clothing, more bread, more boots, more beer in crowded New York city than in Sullivan or Broome counties in the same state. This added production is measured in terms of economic rent, because it depends upon location. The clothing manufacturer, the baker, the shoemaker, the brewer can and do pay roundly for the privilege of occupying land in New York city, though they might obtain the use of land in Sullivan or Broome for little or nothing. But the governments—municipal, state and national—that rule New York's citizens, could at best add production only negatively, and as an actual matter of fact do hinder it most frightfully by vexatious systems of fines and prohibitions. How many more cigars, for example, would be produced in New York if the government did not forbid cigarmakers to make cigars?

Having settled the ethics of the modern system of taxation, Professor Ely goes on to inform us that "taxation in itself is not an evil; it is a blessing; . . . provided, always, that it is prudently expended by a good government." Increased freedom, the professor tells us, is very generally accompanied by increased taxation; and he illustrates his meaning by the following example:

Let a small householder in a city like Baltimore, who pays, say \$50 a year in taxes, reflect on what he receives in return. He receives, dollar for dollar, five times as much

as for any other expenditure. Streets, libraries, free schools, protection to property and person, including health department, pleasure grounds, royal in their magnificence—all these are placed at his service. What private corporation ever gave one-fifth so much for the same money?

Now admit, for argument's sake, all that Professor Ely says about the small householder. There still remains to be explained the case of the man who is *not* a small householder. Even in Baltimore there are a good many more men than houses. The non-householding laborer, who produces wealth to the extent of, say, two or three thousand dollars a year, out of which he is allowed to retain three or four hundred—what does he get in return for the load of taxation laid upon him? The streets he uses, chiefly to go to and from his work; the libraries he can, at best, use to a very limited extent, because he hasn't time for reading or for study; his children get a smattering of education at the free schools, and are taken away to go to work just when they are at the most suitable age for learning; the royal pleasure grounds he enjoys on holidays and Sundays. And as for the police force and the health department, while it is true that they do afford him some slight protection against disorder and disease, it is also true that one of the chief causes of their existence is the dread of the "better classes" lest his discontent should goad him into violence, or the diseases which destroy his children become epidemic. He gets something for what is taken from him; but precious little in proportion to the taking.

Another blessing of taxation Professor Ely describes in a quotation from McCulloch. "They [taxes] stimulate individuals to endeavor by increased industry and economy to repair the breach taxation has made in their fortunes, and it not infrequently happens that their efforts do more than this, and that consequently the national wealth is increased through increase of taxation." This extraordinary doctrine is qualified by a continuance of the quotation, to the effect that the tax imposition must stop short of the point at which "it would produce only despair." But even in this modified form, what a doctrine of robbery is this to be quoted approvingly by a teacher of American youth!

Yet there are evils connected with the present system of taxation. Professor Ely concedes this. "It is," he acknowledges, "a hard thing for some to live under present burdens." And for these evils he names the following two remedies: "1. Better adjustment of the burdens of taxation. 2. Better utilization of public resources." How the first of these is to be applied, he is not altogether clear. As regards national taxation, the government being in the hands of the protectionists, he suggests a simplifying of the tariff taxes by reducing the number of articles taxed, and substituting specific for ad valorem taxes, so far as these things can be done without interfering with protection. "Among thinkers," he says, "there seems to be a general sentiment in favor of the retention of taxes on articles produced in the country which are now taxed by the federal government." And with these vague utterances, the protective tariff and internal revenue systems are dismissed.

As for state and city taxes, the trouble, the professor says, is that men hide a good deal of their property so that the tax gatherer can't get at it. "The result is that real estate often pays an undue share of taxes." For this, we are told, "an income tax seems the most promising remedy, but against this there is in many quarters an unreasonable prejudice." And so that branch of the subject is dismissed.

What a confused mixture is all this to set before the students of Chautauqua, and call it teaching! What possibly can a student, seeking guidance, gather from Professor Ely's exposition save that the entire subject is involved in an inextricable tangle? Built upon a false foundation, buttressed with immorality, the whole theory collapses at a touch from the finger of truth. Humanity may well despair if the miseries that oppress it must continue until Professor Ely points the way to their redress.

Men come into life with equal, inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that is to say, to the use of their own powers, and to the use of the natural elements that are necessary to the use of those powers. That is the great moral principle that lies "back of

the law," and any law that denies or infringes this right is, of necessity, an unrighteous law.

Man produces wealth by applying his labor to the raw material of the earth. There is absolutely no other way of producing it.

As men gather into communities the efficiency of their labor increases, and the increased efficiency of each man's labor is measured by the economic rent of the special portion of the earth on which his labor is exerted. This economic rent belongs of right to the entire community, because each member of the community has an equal right to the use of that portion of the earth with the man who is using it. This economic rent, therefore, the community not only may, but justly ought to, take in the shape of a tax upon the value of the land. And beyond this, save in case of special and pressing emergency, such as famine or invasion, the community has no right to take from any man any portion, howsoever small, of the product of his labor.

This is the theory of the single tax. We invite Chautauqua students to compare it with the theories of Professor Ely.

## New Books Received.

John Bedford Leno is the author of a little volume of verses entitled "The Last Idler and Other Poems," which champion the cause of labor. It is published by Reeves & Turner, 196 Strand, London, England.

## The Cheerfulness of Reform.

At a recent sociable of the Women's suffrage association in Boston William Lloyd Garrison read the following verses:

I am here, Mrs. President, just to respond  
To the toast that I'm billed for by Cora Scott  
Pond  
And the other good ladies who give us the feast  
And extort in return, from the first to the least,  
A speech of five minutes, for precious is time;  
So permit me to do my brief prosing in rhyme.

It's a wholesome relief, when the meetings  
are done,  
To wind up with a supper well seasoned with  
fun,

For Reform is so earnest, at times melancholy,  
A tonic is needed to keep us all jolly;  
And we seek it in festivals, where, I am told,  
The ices get warm while the coffee takes cold.

The toast—let me turn it and watch it, for fear  
It shouldn't be crisp—is "Reform and its  
Cheer!"  
And it brings back a story that Quincy relates  
Of Eliza Lee Follen (I skip all the dates),  
Who wrote that when dull in her spirits and blue,  
She hurried to Boston in search of—guess who?

Why, the band of fanatics in West-street  
that met  
In the parlors that harbored that much  
abused set  
Of dear Mrs. Chapman—so queenly and fine,  
Where wisdom and wit were more sparkling  
than wine;  
And the fun that those sages indulged in, my  
eyes!

Would have paralyzed carpers with certain  
surprise.

Imagine the group—friends of negro and  
Creole,  
And yourself on the mat with an eye to the  
keyhole;  
Picture Ellis Gray Loring, and Phillips, and  
May,  
The debonair Westons, so brilliant and gay,  
And Garrison, genial and given to pun,  
And the humor of Quincy, the high priest of  
fun;

Mrs. Follen and Lowell, et al., as we say,  
And laughter in shouts which went over the  
way;  
You would never have dreamed of such frolic-  
some mirth  
From the people so earnest to liberate earth!  
"But," said Quincy, "who ought to be happy  
but we  
Who are working to set all our countrymen  
free?"

The moral is simple; we labor to bless  
The women who toil and the women who  
dress;  
They all are in bondage, and, plending their  
cause,  
If at times it seems dark and the energies  
pause,  
Let your merriment loose, be not downcast or  
drear,  
You have earned a full right to the utmost of  
cheer.

Remember how Lincoln, when burdened with  
sorrow,  
Found his greatest relief in the jests he could  
borrow;  
For the strain must relax, or else comes a  
snap,  
Which is to your cause and yourself a mishap.  
As a model to which we can fittingly bow,  
Here's our fun loving President, she can show  
Howe.

To the Single Tax Men in Troy and Vicinity.

The undersigned respectfully requests the name and address of every single tax man in Troy and vicinity who is in favor of organizing a single tax league here.

H. C. ROMAINE, Green Island, N. Y.



## NEW YORK'S MARKETS.

West Washington market was recently rebuilt, on a new site adjoining the Gansevoort farmers' market, and when the stands in the new building were allotted there was a headlong rush for them. Under the method in which they were leased, the city controller fixed the rental and to some extent recognized that standholders in the old market had rights in the new. Some of the old standholders, however, failed to get a renewal of their leases, and the places they thought they ought to have obtained went to politicians, who turned them over to other marketmen at a high profit. The excluded and the fleeced men joined hands and employed an attorney to find out their rights. The affair found its way into the daily papers, and when an investigation was begun before the commissioner of accounts, a sensation was caused through an assistant of the corporation counsel seeming to act as the defender of the controller rather than as the representative of the city itself. The marketmen's counsel made out his case. He showed that one of his clients, a standholder, had paid \$500 to a political go-between for alleged services in procuring him a lease. As soon as this evidence was in, the controller, who had professed a lively desire to be investigated, revoked the standholder's permit, thus effectually cutting off the only means of following up the investigation, since no marketman would give testimony that would at once result in driving him out of business. In this state of affairs the counsel of the marketmen declined to proceed with their case. This act of the attorney and the force of public opinion compelled the corporation counsel to promise that his assistant should thenceforth aid and not obstruct the investigation, and last week, at the request of the commissioner of accounts, he invited the marketmen's counsel to continue the case on behalf of the city. This the latter declined to do, for the same reason that he had abandoned the case of the marketmen. He said that if a man was to be put to the scourge the moment he left the witness stand, the investigation was a farce.

The daily newspapers may be trusted in this affair to hold up to scorn the wrongdoers who get caught. But it is to be hoped that it will not all merely end in sending to prison some practical men who have accepted the methods by which society is governed. The interests of the people go further than this, and further than the making of a record against any political hall or the piling up of more rather lightly won laurels for the powerful daily papers engaged in turning discovered rascals out of office. They lie in the answer to an inquiry as to why New York has markets, why they are not well administered, and why she has not more of them.

New York has had at least one public spirited citizen as superintendent of its markets, Col. Thomas F. De Voe. Having spent the better part of his long life as a standholding butcher, he published in 1861 a history of the markets of New York, and a few years later another work of considerable length designed to assist people in doing their marketing. In these works he gave his theories as to public markets. In 1873, as superintendent of markets, he showed in his report that he was strenuously endeavoring to put these theories into practice. Thus, Colonel De Voe in his experience mastered the subject from a private and a public point of view, and what he wrote is about all that can be said profitably as to the principles involved in establishing and operating public markets.

Almost precisely the same situation as we have in the New York markets of today faced Colonel De Voe when he was suggesting reforms twenty to thirty years ago. Speculators in southern vegetables were trying to sell their stuff as fresh from Long Island and to palm themselves off as Queens county truck farmers. Disreputable butchers were ready to sell "bob" veal if inspectors did not prevent them. Musty poultry, stale fish and game that had died of starvation would have been sneaked into the stalls if possible. Certain grocers under the eye of the superintendent could easily have been suspected of selling chicory, horse beans, or roasted peas for coffee; burnt crust, sea salt and oxide of lead for pepper; flour, cayenne and gypsum for mustard; distilled wood and sulphuric acid for vinegar, and cheap poisonous colored candies for the purest kinds. Moreover, "dishonest political vampires mulcted

the stand holders in almost fabulous charges for granting permits." There was, Colonel De Voe wrote, hardly a stand holder in the 528 in Washington market or one in West Washington market that had not been in the habit of paying somebody a bonus of from \$500 to \$5,000, sums that were never paid into the city treasury. For years this last named abuse had been notorious. Colonel De Voe called it political landlordism.

The number of public markets in 1873 was thirteen. They were Washington, West Washington, Fulton, Centre, Clinton, Catharine, Jefferson, Tompkins, Essex, Union, Gouverneur, Franklin, and the Eighteenth ward. Since then two have been abandoned and a new one opened. The first three were then, as now, largely given over to the wholesale trade. The family markets, especially those not accommodating farmers' wagons, were not fully occupied by standholders. Colonel De Voe recommended that some of them be closed and sold, that others be enlarged, and that new markets be erected in localities where they were needed. As to the matter of selling stalls, he believed that space in the markets should be rented to the marketmen, with permission to erect their own stands, and that one-day permits be sold to farmers by the market inspectors.

But notwithstanding these well-considered recommendations, what has since been done in relation to the city markets is of a piece with the run of municipal work. Short-term office-holders have badly administered them, authority over them has been divided, the single new market site that has been created was established through the energy of men selfishly interested, and the rebuilding of the three downtown markets, made possible only when the old rookeries were in danger of falling and killing people, has been followed by corrupt dealings in connection with the allotment of stands.

An illustration of persistent blundering is had in the method of renting stands. A few years ago an applicant for a lease in one of the half vacant smaller, or family, markets would be told that he must buy a vacant stand from the previous holder and pay the city whatever rent was due. On inquiry he would learn that the old worn wooden stands were the property of men who, though they had quit the market, were named in the city's books as lessees and debtors for unpaid rents. He therefore had to choose between paying perhaps a year's rent and not entering the market. Some reformer in office, however, wiped out this abuse when renting vacant stands in such markets had for a long time been a thing of the past. Apparently it had its origin in a respect for the right of a standholder in his good will and improvements, which was ludicrously distorted in the course of bungling official application. Favoritism, however, can yet be shown by the officers in fixing the rental of the stands.

In the wholesale down town markets competition for stands has become fiercer with time, and here again the city's office holders have shown their inability to modify their system of administration with the course of events. When the markets were rebuilt many standholders clamored not to be robbed of their good will and demanded precisely the same places they had had in the old buildings. What with insiders and outsiders, would-be new tenants, negotiators with friends at court, market superintendents, controllers and clerks representing contesting authorities, chaos came. The rich field of plunder for political brokers in influence became richer than ever. Next on the poor marketmen's heads broke the storm of exposure, investigation and the daily newspapers.

The farmers' market at Gansevoort square was brought into existence by land owners bent on profits. For many years farmers' wagons were ranged in long lines by the curb on Washington street and the neighborhood. Some of the business men of the locality wanted them there and some did not. A combination of landlords at Gansevoort square and thereabout raised a sum of money, got up petitions to have the farmers' wagons removed from Washington street, sent lobbyists to Albany and after some years succeeded in buying a law that converted Gansevoort square into Gansevoort market. The value of land near by then increased within three years by an amount exceeding the total land values in any one of the six agricultural counties of the state of New York standing at the foot of the list giving such values. And thus enterprise was rewarded.

Colonel De Voe's idea as to the duty of the city to establish new markets were positive. He said that since 1656, when the first market of New York was erected in Whitehall street, the maintenance of markets had been regarded here as a public concern. In them, sellers readily have their provisions officially inspected, buyers deal as nearly as possible with first hands, and the city can see to it that food of full weight or measure, wholesome and unadulterated, is sold. Space being provided for all who have something to sell, small farmers and dealers are encouraged. The public may compare in large quantities what is offered for sale, and rings of speculators encounter extreme difficulty in cornering provisions. Hence, Colonel De Voe thought, the city should build one or two markets in every ward. Dealers in all kinds of provisions should be accommodated in them, so that a buyer could get in one building everything he wanted for his table. Practical marketmen should select the sites for proposed new market houses. With these well distributed would come cheapness and convenience to the householder and greater protection to the public health. What Colonel De Voe asked was nothing more than to bring to New York a system already in operation in many other cities. But, although he made plain to it the way, New York did nothing.

The cost of the distribution of food in New York in Colonel De Voe's time was greater than in any other city of the Union, amounting even to twice as much as in certain other large cities. It was no unusual thing for provisions to be doubled in price between their place of unloading and the kitchen of the consumer. This is still true to-day. Yet New York ought to distribute its food just as cheaply as cities one-tenth its size, and the average cost of the contents of the housekeeper's market basket—dry or green groceries, meat or fish—ought to be lower here than in any other city of America.

New York has the advantage of transportation on a scale unequaled by any other city in the world, and her free coastwise trade from Maine to Florida brings her the productions of every climate. Her easy supremacy in these respects is obvious when the local newspaper market reports are compared with those of any other city, home or foreign. Because of the volume of her purchases, her facilities in bringing them here, and the many regions differing in climate that are competing for her custom and making her season for good fresh fish and vegetables almost coextensive with the entire year, she is at all times glutted with food. Here the buyer gets many things impossible to find in the markets of an inland city or one having a colder climate, and the cost of transportation per pound or piece per mile is usually reduced to a minimum. His barrel of apples, for example, pays a low freight because it is one of thousands of barrels brought by carriers competing for trade by land and water.

New York's possible advantages for local food distribution are striking, as compared with other great cities, say London or Paris, since to the great central markets in those cities provisions must be hauled by underground railroads or by wagons driven long distances through the streets. Two lines of river-front markets in New York could be supplied by cars, vessels, or wagons brought by ferry, and a line of central markets could be served in part by the elevated roads.

The results of a costly and scandalous way of administering the markets, such as we are now witnessing in the troubles of the market men and the deeper troubles of some of the office holders, could be obviated in selling the stall spaces by auction, as are the city's docks. Even the question of the good-will of standholders need present no difficulty in case room enough for all the marketmen were provided. A man's custom would follow him at least the length and breadth of a single building.

What stands in the way of a plain and simple method of reforming New York's market system is, as we are now seeing, machine politics and, as we shall see more clearly in the future, landlordism.

After the machine is purified out of existence and stallholders are buying their stands at public sale, the question of acquiring new market places will come up. Then, it may be prophesied with confidence, some land holders will plot to get good prices for sites of proposed markets, but many others, foreseeing at least

a temporary falling off in the demand for their storeroom property, will try to stifle the project. They will seek to force on the public their opinion that the city "ought not to engage in business in competition with them, as they are a branch of its business men having great interests at stake." This, in spite of what Colonel De Voe told them long ago, that cheap markets would eventually result in better prices for their land.

The first monopolist, then, to be removed in this case is the machine politician. With him out of the way we shall see, as in so many instances, the landlord looming up as the monopolist behind all others. J. W. SULLIVAN.

## SOCIETY NOTES.

Lindley Hoffman Paul Chapin is the eight weeks old son of Mr. and Mrs. Lindley Hoffman Chapin of this city. Attention has been directed to him by the great pomp and ceremony of his christening at the cathedral by Archbishop Corrigan, and of the candle party at his parents' residence afterward. At the candle party each guest was presented with a French christening box, with the baby's name in gold on top and bonbons inside. In return baby Chapin received just thirteen gold spoons, and they are all kept in a gilded and plate glass case. A dozen solid gold safety pins are close to them, and beside these are a gold knife and fork. There are also a silver rattle, silver porringers, and silver spoons to go with them. There are a gold mug and two silver mugs, and a fan of the finest lace with a full sweep to cool his infantile slumbers. When baby Chapin is old enough for the "content," a tiny spoonful of tea and a gill of warm milk, he is to have it from Sevres cups fully as big as a walnut. He has a tiny gold napkin ring also. Near the case was a sealskin rug for his carriage.—[New York Sun.

Mrs. Bridget McKeon, a woman well along in years, died at 50 Hopkins street, Brooklyn. The story of her sickness and death is a sad one. The woman and her husband occupied the lower part of the house, which is a dilapidated frame structure. Mr. McKeon, who is a shoemaker, used the front room as a shop while the other one was devoted to living purposes. Though nearly ninety years of age the old man managed to do sufficient work to provide the bare necessities of life. A few days ago Mrs. McKeon was taken ill. McKeon visited several physicians and implored them to attend her, but he says they all refused on account of his poverty. At last he sought the assistance of the charities commissioners, who promised to send a physician. This was on Thursday morning. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon the physician called, but his aid was not needed. The poor woman was dead.—[Evening World, February 16.

The late W. T. Storey, editor of the Chicago Times, was fond of making expensive presents to his wife. He was anxious that she should have one quart of precious stones, and kept on buying till the quart shaped casket was filled, which to day is a fortune in itself. He could not bear to see her use anything but lace handkerchiefs, and one season he ordered from a single French manufacturer not one but thirty dozen, to be woven in the piece. So rich and beautiful were these filmy napkins of precious loom that a woman was hired to do nothing but wash and hand-dry them. They filled a cedar chest to the lid, and were so profusely sprinkled with oil of roses that the mere use of one of them filled whatever room or apartment she entered with an atmosphere of Oriental deliciousness.

Mrs. Rosa Tell, the wife of a brewer, was seized in the tenement No. 999 First avenue, at 1 o'clock this morning, in the act of throwing her baby down a flight of stairs. She is now in the insane ward at Bellevue Hospital. Mrs. Tell's trouble and want upset her reason. Her husband is in the German Hospital, a hopeless sufferer from Bright's disease. Until recently he drew relief from the Brewer's Union, but after thirteen weeks of illness that ceased, and Mrs. Tell, with her five children (the oldest seven years and the youngest a baby in arms), had no longer any means of support. But for what was brought in the way of food by the children's grandmother and by the other tenants they were likely to starve. Under the double strain of care and actual hunger her mind gave way at last.—[Mail and Express, Feb. 20.

Up to a comparatively recent period women were satisfied with adorning their pet dogs with more or less costly collars. All kinds were used from plain leather studded with nails to more or less expensively worked metal bands of brass or German silver. Then the fad of using solid silver and even gold collars began to gain popularity and often family crests and monograms were thereon engraved. About the time that bangles were in the height of their popularity, a few dog collars were made of silver or gold pieces joined together. Russia leather and alligator skin bound with gold were also used for canine neck encirclers. The dog bracelet is the latest fad. These bracelets are made of gold and silver and are often set with precious stones. They are fastened with little padlocks and are usually about the size of finger rings, as the larger dogs scorn such frivolities.—[Brooklyn Eagle.

## A Club in Wheeling.

WHEELING, W. Va., Feb. 20.—The single tax men here have organized a club and will hold a meeting every Sunday evening at Parker hall. We will open our meetings with music and singing; then read a chapter from "Progress and Poverty" and follow it up with five-minute talks by those present. Mrs. Chas. Baker, whose address is 65 Twenty-sixth street, is secretary. We intend to circulate a number of STANDARDS weekly as a means of propagating our views. JOHN L. FRANK.



## A LITTLE STORY FOR GENTLEMEN.

"Poh, poh, poh!" quoth Mr. Corporal to Mrs. Ponderit, at whose house he and his family were spending a social evening. "All talk, my dear madam, mere talk; the women don't believe it themselves. Ask my wife, ask my daughters, who they are that rule in my house."

"In whose house?" said the soft voice of Mrs. Ponderit.

"A mere figure of speech, ma'am—a form of convenience for tax collectors, landlords, etc. Say their house, if you'd rather; I know I didn't dare to take it till I brought them all down from the country to look at it. Here, Betty, my duck, come over here; Julia, Annie, come here and testify that you're not the wasting victims of a tyrannical husband and father."

Mrs. C. arose with a smile; the young ladies shook their naughty curls and remained at the other end of the room. Of course they did, for we all know how profound and absorbing a thing is parlor croquet when you are playing it with Mr. Tillinghurst and young Mr. Ponderit.

"Do you hear me?" roared Mr. Corporal, swelling with triumph at this opportune disobedience.

"Yes, pa, to-morrow," said Julia smiling placidly at him over her gauze covered shoulder.

"Go it alone, papa," suggested the skittish young Annie.

"Do you hear that, ma'am? There's a specimen of slavish subservency! Now, Mrs. Corporal, I want you to answer as if you were under oath: Am I a severe husband?"

"No."

"Am I a selfish husband?"

"No."

"Am I an ungenerous husband?"

"No."

"It seems to me, Mrs. Ponderit, that you are answered."

"I should like to remark," said that lady, "that when I expressed my opinion on the abstract question, I had no idea of making a personal application."

"Oh! I don't like abstractions. Put your theories to the test, say I, and see if they stand or fall."

"But I haven't finished my answers," said Mrs. Corporal, looking earnestly at her husband.

It was a loving, half-troubled, yet determined look that she gave them as she went on to say:

"Firstly, you are not severe, but you are overbearing: taking for granted that the head of the family carries the brains of the family, it seldom occurs to you to consult me in matters of mutual interest, and so your very kindness takes the form of tyranny; the very thing I may want to do or have is less acceptable to me for being imposed upon me at the decision of another."

"Really!" exclaimed Mr. Corporal, taken all aback; "I overbearing! Well!"

"Secondly," continued his wife, "you are not by nature selfish, and yet you are inconsiderate—that is to say, there are some things that you have never been taught to consider. You have been brought up to look upon women's tastes, women's plans, and women's household theories or rules as whimsies to be indulged out of kindness, but never taken into serious account in deciding your own movements."

"Well, well, well!" sighed the bewildered husband; "I inconsiderate!"

"Thirdly, you are not ungenerous, but you are unjust; you will buy me a silk dress that I do not need, or a set of jewelry that I would rather not have; in fact, you are continually wasting money upon me; and yet in all the years of our married life I have never had a dollar that did not come in the shape of a gift."

"Good Heavens!" cried Mr. Corporal, rising vehemently, then sinking back, overcome, into his chair; "I an unjust husband, when she knows that I never in all my life refused to open my purse at her desire!"

"Whose purse?" again insinuated the musical voice of Mrs. Ponderit.

"Oh, poh, poh!—her purse, if she likes it better; the little receptacle which my wife and daughters find it convenient for me to keep—well filled—in my pocket. Besides, Elizabeth, if you have harbored this sense of wrong for so many years, why conceal it? Why cherish a secret resentment against your husband until we have nearly reached our silver wedding?"

"Perhaps I ought not to have spoken

here and now," said Mrs. Corporal, "in the presence even of this our nearest friend. I have never spoken before, because I was educated to be subservient to my husband, and have labored faithfully to conquer the sense of humiliation and the disposition to rebel, which I thought peculiar to myself, and coming from some fault in my own character. But very lately my eyes have been opened to the fact that a large proportion of the women in Christendom feel the same discontent, which a sense of duty or fear or a dread of ridicule has induced them to suppress; and I now begin to think that if we had all freed our minds long ago, the world would be far happier to-day."

"But I don't believe it," said Mr. Corporal, relapsing into indignation. "A woman who can get whatever she wants for the asking to be unhappy because she has to ask! It is unreasonable—more than that, it's petty—to be so anxious about one's position and personal dignity; one who has all these years been cared for and sheltered and guided, scarcely allowed to know, much less to be hurt by the rough ways of the world. Have I not spared you all care and responsibility? Do I not bear alone every business anxiety? By the New Jerusalem, if I could only live such an easy, guarded life, I'd gladly give you my lot, and my independence with it."

"Would you?" said Mrs. Corporal.

"I would."

"Very well, we will try it; you shall be tenderly guided and guarded for a week, and if at the end you plead for another, well."

"Agreed," said Mr. Corporal. "I say, Betty, in regard to the outside business, how could you, you know?"

"I will allow you to manage the business, and to handle money in strictly business operations; but out of the office you spend not a cent save what I give you, and take no step in any way affecting the household interest. Only make all your wishes known to me."

The evening closed, but the young folks were (by the merest accident) delayed in their preparations.

"Don't let it detain you a moment," said Frederick Ponderit, magnanimously; "Charlie and I will see the young ladies home."

"I don't know," began Mr. Corporal; but his wife put her arm through his, and drew him quietly away.

"Well, but, mother," again began Mr. Corporal.

"We'll talk as we go along," said his wife, stopping not for a moment until they were fairly in the street.

"Why, how queer of you, Betty! You know I don't want Fred. Ponderit to get so intimate with Annie—a fellow without a cent but what he earns. But you didn't give me time to think."

"Oh, I do the thinking, you know," said Mrs. Corporal; "and as for being poor, I never intend to marry my daughters for money."

"Your daughters, Mrs. Corporal? Oh! ah! I forgot."

"Well, father, said Materfamilias next morning, "what have you in your portemonnaie?"

"I'm sure I don't know; some fifty dollars—seventy-five, perhaps. Why?"

"Dear, dear, that's bad! You ought always to know how much you are carrying. Well, let me have it, and the key of the desk. I'll put it with the rest. Do you want any change?"

"Change! why, how can I tell yet? and what are you doing with my money? Oh, I forgot again. All right; just leave me ten dollars, please; I might want it for something."

"Bless his little heart!" said Mrs. Corporal, pulling his ear, "I'll lay any wager he spends it before he gets home. Or stay—I believe I'll go with you as far as the office. I have some business that way."

"I'll get what I want at the office," chuckled Mr. Corporal. "Hum! I promised not, though. Whew! what predicaments this may lead me into! My dear, excuse me a moment; I want to cross over and speak to Jack Hepburn."

He came back in a couple of minutes. "Have you any money with you? Just give me twenty dollars. Let me have the pocketbook."

"Twenty dollars! What do you want to do with it?"

"Do with it! Oh yes; I am going to lend it to Jack."

"I guess I wouldn't do that, father. I know that Hepburn well enough to doubt if you ever get it back again."

"Bless her prudent little heart! Come, I'm rather in a hurry."

But Materfamilias was not. "I don't know whether to let him have it or not. Well, if you've set your heart on it, I'll give him fifteen." And she counted it out deliberately in ones and twos and smaller notes, which proceeding the gentlemen on the opposite curbstone watched with a lively interest.

Mr. C. flushed, choked a little; then in silence hastened across with the fifteen dollars.

"Really, my love," said the matron, on his return, "I gave you the money this time because I didn't want to hurt your feelings; but I must say that I don't approve this promiscuous generosity; in fact, it isn't generosity—it's weakness. Men are so indiscriminating. Don't think I'm scolding, dear; only remember another time."

Mr. Corporal opened his mouth to speak, and as suddenly closed it. He would have expostulated, but the words sounded strangely familiar. Could it be that he had uttered them yesterday? And could they have been as offensive to her as they now appeared to him?

Soon after they parted to meet no more until dinner.

After such a meal as would be a triumph to any housekeeper, the lady remarked, as she led the way to the library:

"My dear, I've bought you a new carriage. I've just ordered it round to the window for you to see."

"A new carriage! Why, Betty, what are you thinking of, when I have—we have—a first-class carriage already?"

"Oh, I've made a trade. The fact is, there was too much money in that carriage. Now this is equally well made and comfortable; the difference is merely a matter of style; and I left off the coat of arms."

"And that was just the beauty of it," said Mr. C., disconsolately. "I'm sure I don't care for show in a general way, but if I have a vanity, it is my coat of arms: something so substantial about it."

"Ah, I've been thinking it over, and have come to the conclusion that in this country, where families disappear in two or three generations, a coat of arms is snobbish; and I never will bring up my family to be snobbish. Sooner than that I will keep no carriage at all. Besides, I have made something handsome by the operation."

"Ha, ha, ha! This is really dramatic," said Mr. Corporal, laughing loudly, if not joyously. "Go on; go on; you won't catch me taking offense at what is done for my good." And he betook himself to silence and the evening paper—that is to say, to a nap.

"Pa, may Will and I study German this fall?" cried Molly, the youngest Corporal, bouncing into the room and whirling like a cyclone. "Oh, just see what a big cheese I made! Could you make such big ones, ma, when you were my size?"

"Bigger; my skirts were fuller. Well, now, about this German?"

"Oh, it's splendid," exploded Molly. "Maggie Maxwell and Jane Purdy and Cousin Hal and Cousin Josephine and Will and me and one or two of Maggie's cousins and they've got a splendid teacher—real German and a long pipe and related to the Von Deckels and—"

"Poh, poh, poh!" said Mr. Corporal, half wakened by the clatter. "I'm not going to have my girls—"

"I'll attend to it, father," said Mrs. Corporal. "Finish your nap, dear; it's a most injurious thing to be wakened suddenly. Molly, you should be careful. Now about this German—is he young or old?"

"Old as Beersheba and bald and a large silk handkerchief and meet once a week and if we study hard till about nine for instance what would you say to a little of the—you know—the other German to top off with?"

"I want a little of the other German too," cried Will, who had just come up, also bouncing and explosive. "Pa, may I?"

"I'll attend to it," put in ma, quietly but decidedly. "My son, I wouldn't keep my hands in my pockets; it's awkward."

"Dancing teaches young people to be graceful," soliloquized William, audibly.

"Now in regard to the language, if you are in earnest, and things appear right on inquiry, I haven't the slightest objection. In regard to the other German, no."

"Well, we didn't much think you would," said the young philosopher, shrugging her chubby shoulders. "Will and I just thought we'd try."

"But it's the language we want," said Will, "really and truly; isn't it, Moll? Poh, you can't hop worth a cent."

"Can, too—see here. Oh, Will, let's you and I make guys of ourselves, and pay a visit to Maggie. May we, ma?"

"How about to-morrow's lessons, puppets?"

"All but one," replied both voices; and both Young Americas scampered to the little study room, whence proceeded for some twenty minutes a loud, dull, double voiced droning, followed by a sudden simultaneous upsetting of chairs and scuttling from the room.

During the above discussion Mr. Corporal had preserved a silence only broken now and then by a muffled snort. Turning now to his wife, his face was perfectly tranquil.

"Do you forget, mother," he said, in well modulated tones, "that I disapprove of girls pursuing these useless studies? I'm not at all sure that it tends to their happiness, as—"

"I know you're not sure, my dear," replied the matron, soothingly, "and so I don't think it best to puzzle your brain with the matter; only have confidence in me; I'll bring it out all right. Why, my dearest, sooner than bring a wrinkle of anxiety to that pure brow I'd keep you from thinking altogether."

Mr. Corporal glared at her for a moment, undecided; then, bursting into a laugh, took his hat and went out for the evening.

"One day gone," he remarked as he walked down the street. "Whew! what a singular sense of relief comes over me! I wonder how it would feel to be a fly rolled up in a spider's web? The thing wouldn't hurt anywhere, but it would suppress everywhere. Not to act for myself; not to have any money; but—By the way, I haven't a cent in my pocketbook. I must go back and ask for some. Well, now, it's curious, but although I know it to be a joke, and a joke of my own proposing, I can't bear to go and ask her. Confound it! I won't—I'll do without first." And he pursued his penniless and somewhat sulky way.

"Well, my dears," said the mother, bustling into breakfast, all beaming, "I'm going to give you a treat this morning. Get out your bathing rigs, and we'll all run down and take a dip in the sea before we go to the mountains for the summer."

Will and Molly looked at each other; so did Annie and Julia. The first look expressed surprise, the second mischief.

"Really," exclaimed Mr. Corporal, almost upsetting his coffee, "I honor your kind intention, but you oughtn't to spring it upon me so suddenly. How do you know it will be convenient? In fact, it isn't; I engaged to go with Jorkin this afternoon to try his new horse."

"Tut, tut, tut! you mustn't make engagements in that wild way without my knowledge. How can I plan for you if you interfere with me this way? Now get your hat and run right over to Jorkin and tell him you didn't know you were going to the shore this morning, and don't be long, dear; I want to take the ten o'clock train."

"But I am not—ah! I mean, let us stop and talk about it. You see, I really couldn't go and tell Jorkin that: it would make me look so foolish."

"My love," said Mrs. Corporal, gravely, "what I have done I have done for the best, and it's childish to argue about it now. And let this little disappointment be a lesson to you for the future not to make engagements without my knowledge. Don't think I'm scolding, dear; only remember another time."

"I'm in for it," groaned the head of the family, taking down his hat; "and this is only the second day! Can it be that I have ever treated her in this way? Verily, I remember something like it a year ago. But if I could have imagined—"

It took so long to compose his excuse to Jorkin that on his return, although every thing needful was laid to his hand, he found it impossible to be ready to start with the party, and barely succeeded in reaching the train in time.

"Jump in," said Mrs. Corporal; "I have the tickets. Not there! come on to the next car."

"Here are good seats," said Mr. C., preparing to take them.

"Next car," repeated Mrs. C. placidly; and on he went, feeling like a horse with his first experience of the bearing rein.

"Goodness! what are you at now?" For no sooner was he fully ensconced and comfortable than madam leaned across and quietly lowered his window.

"Can't you let me—I mean I want it open."

"The cinders are blowing in on you; the



wind is on this side. My dear, you don't feel in a right good temper this morning, do you? Never mind, it'll be all right when you begin to feel the sea breeze."

"Mother," said the gentleman after a while, emerging from his paper.

"Well, Billy?"

"Do you know I haven't a cent [of money]?"

"Money? Oh, yes; I gave you ten dollars yesterday."

"It's gone."

"Gone! Oh, well, if you enjoyed yourself with it, I'm sure it's all right. How much do you want now?"

"How much? Oh, really—I suppose you will allow me to pay the bills?"

"You may, if it would amuse you. I'll give you two hundred dollars and if you want more, you know where to get it." And madam began counting it out in fives and tens.

"Stay," said Mr. C., nervously; "there's Thompson and his wife on the other side. They're looking at us."

"Are they? I'll speak to them directly. Thirty, and ten is forty, and ten—"

"Do give me the portemonnaie," said the gentleman, reddening. "Don't dribble it out in that way. They'll think I'm an idiot under guardianship."

"Oh no," said Mrs. Corporal cheerfully; "it's done every day to persons who are not idiots. However, here are two more fifties. I'm only afraid you'll meet some more of your borrowing friends, and I know what you are with money in your pocket. Don't think I'm scolding dear; only—" But here Mr. Corporal flounced away.

In time, however, the day passed, and the next and on the fourth the family returned to their homes.

"Any letters for me, Nan?" said her father.

"Lots for you, dear papa," said Annie, fetching them; "and—and"—growing all in a moment flushed and agitated—"and one for ma."

Mrs. Corporal read it through with ever increasing gravity.

"Did you know this was coming, my daughter?" she said, at the end.

"Yes, ma," faltered Miss Annie. "He was coming to you himself; but I felt as if I couldn't bear it, and so I told him to write."

"A most important letter," said Mrs. Corporal: "it is but right that you should hear it, father." And ma, adjusting her spectacles, read as follows:

"Dear Madam: Kind and truly like a mother as you have always been to me, it is yet almost with trembling that I come to you now. I would fain, from cowardice, use a little circumlocution, but am unskilled at it, and must therefore say at once that I am devotedly attached to your daughter, and that she—well, that she has referred me to her mother."

"To her what?" said pater, with a little jump.

"To her mother."

"Dear Mrs. Corporal, you know I have no inheritance, but I am strong and very much in earnest, and Annie is willing to put up with my income, and thinks she knows how to add to it. And indeed I love her as I never loved before. [He was then twenty-three.] If you think it best we are prepared to wait a while, but it is our own conviction that early marriages are desirable. Dear Mrs. Corporal, pray believe that next to the necessity of being Annie's husband is the hope of calling myself your son. Yours in great suspense,

"FREDERICK FOSDICK."

"P. S.—Dear Mr. Corporal, I count upon your influence with Annie's mother."

"Good heavens!" exclaimed the head of the family: "and there are yet three days!"

"Father," said Annie, piteously, "do plead for me. See how solemn she looks! Do speak!"

"My child," said the mother, drawing Annie toward her, "are you sure you love this young man well enough to live with him, if need be, in poverty?"

"Stop!" exploded the father, growing desperate. "Young woman, do you know that this chick of yours has not a cent to rent a house with?"

"He has five thousand dollars," said Annie; "and you know I have five thousand dollars."

"Five thousand straws! Do you think I will allow—"

"My love," said Mrs. Corporal, "you are getting excited; sit down and compose yourself. Annie, I confess that I should greatly prefer the husband of my child to be a little forehanded; but if you truly love him there is no power in money or in the lack of it that can influence me to interfere with your choice. All I ask of you is to wait a year to test the quality of your attachment."

"Oh, thanks, mother, thanks!" and Annie rushed, sobbing, from the room, shortly followed by her mother.

"Aha, my lady," muttered the slighted parent, "what's done in a week may be undone in a year. The impudent jackanapes! I never was treated so; I never treated anyone so; I wouldn't—Good gracious! I did; when I proposed to Elizabeth's father I did it almost in that identical way, and if anyone had told me her mother would be hurt, I shouldn't have known what was meant. Well, well, I'll think more about these things. I had no idea so much could be said on their side."

Half in dread of what the twelve hours might bring forth, and half in joyous anticipation of freedom, Mr. Corporal began the seventh day of his experiment. Through much inconvenience, chagrin, and a constant sense of mild suffocation, as of a lobster submerged in lukewarm water, he had faithfully kept the conditions of his bargain, and he was rewarded by finding on the dinner table a letter after his own heart—or, to speak with correctness, after the heart of his eldest daughter, Julia.

"Here's good news for you, mother," he announced, with a burst of triumph. "Mr. Alfred Stringer, of the house of Stringer and Stringer, has proposed—to me—for the hand of my daughter Julia. My duck, you will be one of the richest women, and belong to one of the best families, in Philadelphia, and I freely give my consent."

"Hold!" cried Mrs. Corporal, rising with stern demeanor. "Does that man have the insolence to propose to my daughter? Alfred Stringer—a man suspected of dishonor in business, a man known to be drunk at evening parties, a man who has wasted and staled his nature in the deepest flirtations till he is thirty-five years old—to dare attempt to gain the fresh heart of my daughter! Tell him, No! and never let me hear his name again."

"Elizabeth!" cried the father, aghast, "you are beside yourself! You cannot mean what you say!"

"I forbid you, husband, I forbid you, children, ever to breathe the name of that man in my house. It is enough; the subject is dead." She arose and left the room.

"There," soliloquized Mr. Corporal, exultation mingled with his anger. "Now that she may call tyranny, and that is just the thing I never would do. Why, she gave me no time to speak, or even to think! As if either parent could have a right to give or refuse to give a child in marriage without the concurrence of the other! It's monstrous! And yet—and yet I have known good men to do it, and good women to acquiesce in it; and as sure as I live it never till this moment struck me as an insufferable assumption. Well, well, well. I must overhaul my whole theory, if I ever had any, on these subjects. Betty, come here. Why, there I go again! Why should I call her to me? Elizabeth, my wife" (sitting tenderly down by her side), "can it be possible that I have made you suffer all these years the sense of helplessness and subordination that I have endured for a week? I who love you so dearly, I who would give my life, or my health, or my peace of mind to save yours?"

"My husband," said his wife, with shining eyes, "I have never doubted your love, and I have never blamed you for what was amiss in our relations together. I know how nearly impossible it is for us to act, or even to think, in a direction varying from the current of our age. But I feel very sure that of late this current is changing, and I know that you, with your generous heart and keen sense of justice, will be among the first to take the new direction."

"I will, my love, I will. I only needed to see. And now about these chicks of ours, what had we better do?"

At this moment in steps Annie, with a face in which hope and fear and a sense of guilt and a sense of fun are combined in equal proportions.

"Young woman," said her father, "what does that jackanapes mean by this remarkable beginning of his domestic career?"

"Father," said Annie, laughing and crying, "he didn't."

"Didn't! What's this evidence in black and white?"

"A base forgery, my papa. The fact is, he gave me the letter to read and hand to you, and as I was naturally working in mother's interest, and thought you would rather not have the joke go beyond the family, I said nothing to him, but just—copied it, with a few variations. And oh, father and mother both, I am strong and healthy, and can work if need be; and you were poor when you were

married. And so," added this irrepressible young female, "you know how it is yourselves."

"Have your own way," replied these ridiculous parents. "And now about Julia; and here, of course, she comes."

"In regard to this Mr. Stringer, Elizabeth, you know the position he could give our daughter; and as to the little reports about him, there never was anything verified. I never found him more than a little sharp in business, and I never saw him drunk."

"William," said the mother, "remember that this matter never came to your knowledge until yesterday, whereas I noticed his attentions months ago, and have been quietly watching and inquiring ever since. You little know a mother's sympathetic heart if you suppose that such a state of things could exist without her cognizance."

"Parents both," remarked Julia, with her usual serenity, "to spare you any farther excitement this warm weather, I will state that neither the great fortune nor the small habits of the gentleman are of the slightest importance to your daughter, who does not intend to marry him. This indifference may possibly result," continued the imperturbable young female, "from what Mr. Weller would call a 'priority attachment.'"

"A what?" cried the much tried parents, again in terror.

"Priority attachment; party of the name of Tillinghurst, well known to you both as sober, honest and sufficiently well to do."

"Charlie Tillinghurst!" cried Mrs. C., astounded. "Little Charlie! Why, I embroidered his first trousers! Well, he's just the one person I never did think of in that connection."

"I little know a mother's sympathetic heart," quoted the delighted father.

#### NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

##### To Detect Fire in a Ship's Cargo.

Electric heat indicators, consisting of thermometers incased and protected by iron tubes, provided with platinum wires, and connected to a system of electric bells and indicators on deck, are the latest invention for detecting spontaneous combustion among ship cargoes.

##### Scavenging by Electricity.

A project is afloat to run an electric road-sweeper for London streets, says the Electrical Engineer. This will be driven by accumulators, which also drive the revolving brush. No horses will be required, and one man will be enough to drive it.

##### An Electrical Omnibus.

The Ward electric omnibus is now frequently seen in the London streets, and is said to be the only one in existence which will run successfully on ordinary streets without rails.

##### Cork for Car Springs.

M. Germond de Lavigne has from time to time pointed out the elastic property of cork, and has succeeded in finding some new uses for that substance. Experiments which he carried out show that if a piece of cork 16-25 of an inch thick be compressed between the jaws of a vise till it be reduced to a thickness of 3-25 of an inch, it will when released recover its original dimensions in ten minutes. As an application of the lesson here taught the Lens colliery company has adopted cork as a spring to the coupling hooks of their coal wagons. The stem of the hook passes through a set of twelve discs, each about 7 inches in diameter and 2-3 of an inch thick. The traction service with these springs is very satisfactory from the several points of view of constant elasticity, durability and cost of maintenance. Lately some trials have been made of these springs by the northern railway company.—[London Industries.

##### The New Developer for Photographic Plates.

Hydroquinone or hydrochinon, the developing agent that is to a large extent displacing the old pyrogallol acid and still older ferrous oxalate developers in photographic work, is a product of the dry distillation of kinic acid that is found in the cinchona bark from which is also extracted the drug quinine. It works slower than pyrogallol acid but does as good if not better work. The great advantage is that the danger of over-developing is obviated. In the pyro development it is necessary to vary the proportions of the chemicals used in developing under or over exposed plates and frequently the development has to be arrested by adding bromide, else the image on the plate would be "flat," that is, without contrasts, and would even disappear entirely if the development was too rapid. Pyro often makes the plates yellow and still oftener a chemical fog appears. It stains the fingers too, which hydrochinon does not. This new agent can be had now for about 85 cents an ounce, one forty-eighth part of an ounce being sufficient for a two-ounce developing solution.

##### A Slot Machine That Rejects Counterfeits.

An ingenious machine was recently exhibited to the postmaster-general, according

to the Washington Star. It is an adaptation of the drop-a-nickel-in-the-slot machine to the sale of postage stamps. A sheet of stamps is cut into slips the width of two stamps, and these slips are wound around a cylinder inside of the machine. A nickel is placed in the slot, which drops down, starts an electric current, which causes the stamp cylinder to revolve, the slip of stamps glides along and passes under a row of needles, which drops down and cuts off two stamps. The owner of the nickel waits a few seconds after his money disappears and then shoves down a metallic button and two stamps make their appearance at an aperture in the lower part of the machine. It is proposed by the inventors to place these machines in stores and prominent places about a city. If the department approves the plan they will adapt the machine so that two pennies or a ten cent piece can be used with the result that one two cent stamp or five stamps can be obtained. In case a spurious coin is used a magnet in the interior detects the fraud and throws it to one side.

##### The Work for the Regular Army in Future.

Newport, Ky., Correspondence New York Times.

While but one company of infantry will at first be quartered here, it is expected to from time to time increase the force, the idea of the war department being to mobilize the troops at a few eastern and central eastern points. The Indian question is practically done for so far as soldiers are concerned, and it is now deemed advisable to station more troops in the vicinity of the larger cities, so that they will be convenient in the event of the frequent labor troubles precipitating or occasioning violence.

**The Wonderful Carlsbad Springs.**—At the Ninth International Medical Congress, Dr. A. L. A. Toboldt, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper stating that out of thirty cases treated with the genuine imported Powdered Carlsbad Sprudel Salt for chronic constipation, hypochondria, disease of the liver and kidneys, jaundice, diabetes, dropsy from valvular heart disease, dyspepsia, catarrhal inflammation of the stomach, ulcer of the stomach or spleen, children with marasmus, gout, rheumatism of the joints, gravel, etc., twenty-six were entirely cured, three much improved and one not treated long enough. Average time of treatment, four weeks.

The Carlsbad Sprudel Salt (powder form), is an excellent *aperient, laxative and diuretic*. It clears the complexion, purifies the blood. It is easily soluble; pleasant to take and permanent in action. The genuine product of the Carlsbad Springs is exported in round bottles. Each bottle comes in a light blue paper carton, and has the signature "Emmer & Mendelson Co.," sole agents, 6 Barclay street, on every bottle. One bottle mailed upon receipt of One Dollar. Dr. Toboldt's lectures mailed free upon application. Mention "The Standard."

##### Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested his wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing and using, sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Power's block, Rochester, N. Y.

##### MISCELLANEOUS.

# WHAT

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## QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

### To Mathematicians.

In regard to the number of the descendants of Confucius, had they doubled in number every twenty-five years after his death, J. Craig, of Peotone, Will county, Ill., thinks the figures given in Chapter 2 of Book II of "Progress and Poverty" are wrong. He says, the problem being how many were alive 2,150 years after Confucius died, there being two at the time of death, and the number doubling every twenty-five years, we would need to get the eighty-seventh power of 2. This he gets in the following manner:

The fifth power of 2 equals 32.

The tenth power of 2 equals the fifth power squared, or 32 times 32, equals 1,024.

The twentieth power of 2 equals the tenth power squared; 1,024 times 1,024 equals 1,048,576.

The fortieth power equals the twentieth power squared. (It is unnecessary to give the figures.)

The eightieth power equals the fortieth power squared.

The eighty-seventh power equals the eightieth power times the seventh power (the seventh power being 128), and this final product Mr. Craig finds to be 154,742,504,910,672,534,362,390,528.

Thus the figures in "Progress and Poverty" and Mr. Craig's figures agree in the number of points, but not otherwise.

Does any reader of THE STANDARD arrive at the same result in a different way?

### Freezing Out a Small Householder.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Suppose that in a growing town where land values are constantly rising, the single tax is in force. It will of course have to keep up with these growing values. The houses, however, do not increase in value but deteriorate, and what is worse, and a source of loss, they grow unsuited to their location in very many cases. Dwellings thus come to occupy lots on business streets where they cannot be rented to advantage. In this city these changes constantly occur. Time thus makes many structures unsuited to the increased value of their lots, which may have doubled and quintupled in worth, therefore these structures are not able to extract for their owners the full rental value of the land owing to their smallness, age or character.

The tax, however, being on the land alone and increasing with its rental value, if properly used, takes no account of this unchangeableness of buildings, but will soon equal and then exceed the entire rent to be derived from them, leaving nothing or less for interest and repairs. The buildings becoming thus a source of loss would have to be abandoned without compensation, as the land could not be sold. Thus men would dread the rise of land. The poor cottager would be driven from his home by the rising tax on his lot should it chance to become very valuable. This would reverse the present state of affairs, and rising land values would become a source of unjust loss as now of unjust gain, and not merely in a few instances.

If all old buildings were torn down as soon as the tax made it profitless to hold them (and this with large numbers would occur almost simultaneously) they could not be replaced to advantage with modern structures of the present huge size, as the supply would far exceed the demand in that case, because such great structures should arise one at a time in proportion to the need of more room for industry. The owners of these older buildings it seems to me would simply be beggared, as they could not, unless immensely wealthy, rebuild after the modern expensive fashion.

DR. O. T. FREER.

The single tax will not, in all human probability, come into operation at one bound. It will come gradually. But even if it were to be applied immediately the troubles you anticipate would not result.

In the first place what is the value of a plot of land? What does it show? It shows that that plot if put to its full use will produce a certain amount more than the least productive land in use. Now what causes this value? The increasing growth and needs of the community. Here, then, is a lot which is worth so much that to be held profitably by the owner it must have a big new building. This is proof positive that when the big new building is erected it will be used. And if there are other like plots which must also have big buildings erected on them to be used profitably, then those buildings are needed and will be used when erected. The rental value of the lots proves this, for it means pressure, increased desires, increased needs. But you are supposing a case where the assessors in estimating the rental value of the land of a certain quarter have placed it so high that it is impossible to use it without erecting an over supply of expensive buildings. This

proves that the assessment is too high—that the buildings are not needed, and the assessment must be lowered. Such a misvaluation could only occur where the single tax was introduced suddenly, and where the assessors made the mistake of supposing that the present high valuations of lots in use would in all cases remain as high when all speculative holdings were forced suddenly into use and into competition with the other plots. They would not remain so high. They would undoubtedly fall in many cases, although by the rise in the valuation of lands at present held for speculative purposes, the total valuation of a city might be very much greater than at present.

There would be other cases where the gradual rise in value of land would force the owner of a dwelling or a small building to vacate because he had not the brains to know how to use it to its best advantage, or because his business elsewhere took up too much of his time. For it would not be because of the lack of capital. His power of deciding what his valuable site should be used for would be the basis of all the credit he wanted providing his reputation was good. Supposing, however, he does not want to use it for business. Then as the tax gradually increases and it becomes evident that some day it will amount to far more than the lot and improvements are worth to the owner, he will take time by the forelock and move away. But before going he will sell all his improvements at their existing value. You say, "To whom could he sell them if they were simply incumbrances and had to be removed?" To answer this it is necessary to understand that every piece of valuable land is worth to some particular individuals much more than what might be called the economic rental value. Thus the lot next door to the Equitable building on Nassau street, being the only piece the Equitable company needs in order to extend their building over the whole block, is worth probably twice as much to them as to anyone else. This being the case the individuals who place a peculiar value (a value which would immediately cease if they died, and is therefore not the economic rental value) on a certain plot could well afford to buy out the existing owner of the dwelling very often at more than the value of his improvements, in order to get possession of the plot. In the very few cases where this was not done the community could well afford to buy the owner's improvements and then resell them the highest bidder, standing any small loss that might arise.

### Shifting the Tax.

BILLINGS, Mont.—(1) When natural opportunities are all monopolized, cannot the single tax, taking anything less than 100 per cent of the rental value, be shifted at the lowest point of production?

(2) I have seen it stated that it could not be shifted because monopoly charges all the traffic will bear, but would not the traffic bear more if other taxes were remitted?

A. H. SAWYER.

(1) One would have to be a Malthusian to suppose a condition in which the whole land surface of the earth was monopolized and every acre had a rental value, although it is quite true that all the land of an island or of a small country might become so. In this latter case, however, the margin of cultivation would be in the nearest big country that had free land, and as emigration is getting easier and easier that would amount to the same thing as if the small country still had free land. A tax on monopoly, however, cannot in any case be shifted; that is, it cannot be added to the existing price charged the consumer, because production would stop if it were. It would make no difference whether the single tax took all of the rental value of land or only a part, the user would pay no more in the former case.

(2) If production were relieved from taxation, monopoly could raise its charges, ultimately anyway, but single tax men are pretty confident that the needs of the community will justify an increased tax on monopoly about that time. This rise in the value of monopolies is not, however, a "shifting of the tax." It is not because there is a tax on monopoly that monopoly charges more in this case, but because there no taxes on production—two entirely different things.

W. B. SCOTT.

### Notes.

Charles Ehmann, Cincinnati.—In regard to the necessity for reform in our nominating conventions and "primaries," of which you speak, it is an essential part of the Australian system as proposed that nominations can be

made by small bodies of independent voters or small parties, and that nominees thus named shall have their names printed on the official ballots with the names of the machine nominees. Thus the Yates-Saxton bill as passed in New York state permitted any party that cast three per cent of the total vote in any corporate division, such as state, county or district, to nominate candidates for the state, county or district, and it also provided that 1,000 independent voters could nominate for a state office by signing a certificate of nomination, and 100 independent voters could in the same manner nominate for a district or county office. These provisions, together with the secrecy of the ballot, would completely break the power of the machines. One thousand men, no matter how poor, could nominate a candidate and be sure of his name being submitted, on the official ballot, to every one of the 1,300,000 voters in the state of New York. Machines would either make decent nominations or be beaten at the polls.

### WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE'S FATHER.

Translated in the Chautauquan from the Revue des Deux Mondes.

The founder of the family seems to have been a William Gladstone, a small brewer of Biggar, who died in 1728, leaving three sons and one daughter. One of the sons of this ancestor left eleven children, among whom was Thomas, the grandfather of the statesman; and he had sixteen children, of whom twelve survived him. By means of hard labor he succeeded in providing for each of these children a modest fortune and in thus aiding them in their entrance upon the duties of life. John, his oldest son, and the father of the Grand Old Man, succeeded in many times multiplying this fortune and in securing for his son that large independence so necessary to a man called upon to direct the public business of a great state.

John Gladstone, the father of the prime minister, was born at Leith, in 1763, received an education as complete as comported with the ideas of the time and the position of his father, and entered the business office of the latter. Thomas Gladstone was then engaged in the grain trade. A ship loaded with American wheat and directed to Liverpool had been consigned to him by one of his correspondents. John received from his father an order to go to Liverpool, and to make the best sale possible for this consignment. He transacted the business with the house of Corrie & Co., one of the most important in Liverpool; and the head of the firm, struck with the intelligence and the business-like manner of the young man, wrote to Thomas Gladstone proposing that he should leave his son with him. The proposition made was a very advantageous one, and was not refused. In 1784 John was established at Liverpool in the employ of Corrie & Co.

The port of the Mersey began to assume importance. From 1700 to 1750 it was greatly enriched by the tobacco trade, and its population increased, during this first period of prosperity from 5,000 to 17,500.

From 1750 to 1807 Liverpool was the principal port for the fitting out of slave ships, and this sad industry was just reaching its meridian when John Gladstone entered upon his business career. In the year 1709, the first ship fitted out for the slave trade had realized such profits that others hastened to enter the business, and in 1753 there were not less than eighty-eight ships engaged in the traffic in human flesh. From 1795 to 1804 the ship owners of Liverpool transported 323,770 slaves from the coast of Africa to America and the Antilles. Liverpool lived and flourished upon this lucrative commerce, and to its maintenance the existence of the city seemed firmly bound. John Gladstone, as the others, committed himself to it, calming the scruples of his conscience by the argument, constantly repeated, that without slavery the development of America would be retarded, and the working of its vast sugar, coffee and cotton plantations must be abandoned; that, taking all things together, negro slaves had less of which to complain than free negroes, decimated as they were by famine and by their perpetual wars.

Thus the efforts of Clarkson, of Rosecoe, of Wilberforce, seeking in the name of humanity the suppression of this inhuman traffic, found little echo in Liverpool. John Gladstone was one of the most ardent enemies of the abolitionists. In a few years he had justified the predictions of Mr. Corrie, and the latter, appreciating the important service which the young man had rendered his house, took him into partnership. At the very beginning he proved himself worthy of the choice. The grain harvest had failed in Europe. The Corrie establishment saw the possibility of realizing enormous profits by importing wheat from America.

John Gladstone was put in charge of this enterprise, and set out for New York prepared to make heavy purchases. Twenty-four ships were to follow him and bring back the grain to Europe. At that time communications with the New World were few and slow; business operations were carried on largely by chance; uncertainties, or doubtful estimates were given, risks were taken. When, after forty days, John Gladstone reached America, he learned that the crops, which promised well in the spring, had proved to be no better than in Europe, and that the wheat would scarcely suffice for the home consumption; and he could not purchase enough to load even one ship.

The blow was a heavy one. In order to fit out the fleet which had followed him, the Corrie house had drawn heavily on its capital; John Gladstone knew that it had almost staked its existence upon this venture, and that the return of these twenty-four empty ships would be for it a disastrous event. Upon him devolved the task of averting it. In the impossibility of consulting with his associates, he had to rely entirely upon himself, and act with decision and promptness. A rapid visit through New York, Boston and the southern states gave him a knowledge of the merchandise of those different markets.

If the grain had failed, by way of return sugar, coffee, and cotton were abundant. He decided to load his ships with these, and thus returned to Liverpool. If this expedition undertaken by the Corrie house did not yield the brilliant results which had been hoped, at least the bravery and wisdom of its youngest member prevented the disaster which was looked upon as inevitable in Liverpool after the arrival of letters announcing the failure of the crops.

From that day the establishment of Corrie & Co. ceased to limit its operations to dealings in grain. The initiative of John Gladstone had opened to it a new field, and he knew how to work it profitably. The relations formed between him and the planters continued, and little by little Corrie & Co. became the leading house importing the products of the southern states. Sixteen years later Messrs. Corrie and Bradshaw retired with great fortunes, and John Gladstone remained sole proprietor. He then took into partnership his second brother, Robert, calling him from Leith; and later, in proportion as the business grew, six other brothers were successively added to the firm. Thus the whole family was transplanted to Liverpool. The new firm, Gladstone & Co., took rank among the leading houses of the world; and its head, the owner of important plantations in Demerara, the importer of products by means of his own ships, saw every year his personal fortune enlarging, and the reputation of his house increasing.

### We Are Governed Too Much.

Nebraska State Journal.

There came to this city a statesman of beauty, The beer on his whiskers was heavy and chill;

He never ceased talking of honor and duty, And every half hour he rung in a new bill. His mouth made me think of a vast flowing river,

That rolled on its course to the ocean forever, He made the wall paper curl up there and quiver,

And shouted the watchword of "Give us more law."

He rung in a bill to prohibit school teachers From shooting the scholars while they were at play;

Another restraining all pastors and preachers From taking collections six times in a day; Another to make it a grave misdemeanor

To make a wire bustle act as a calf weaner— And while he thus monkeyed state coffers grew leaner,

And still came the slogan of "Give us more law."

He asked that a law be enforced for protection

Of soldiers who fought in the Crimean war; That men be appointed to make an inspection

Of Jupiter, Venus, and some other star. He thought the state needed a state pump inspector;

That saloon keepers cut down the price of their nectar;

And so rambled on this political Hector, And howled the brave anthem of "Give us more law."

I weep briny tears for our poor old Nebraska, Whose back is sore burdened with laws that are made,

I'd ship all the statesmen in bulk to Alaska, Or where the heat's two billion high in the shade,

And then, when the last one had from us been driven, We'd dwell in this country, the fairest 'neath heaven,

And see that their past sins were pardoned, forgiven, And boycott the anthem of "Give us more law!"

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Chicago Leader.

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## Not a Question of Individuals.

Sydney Bulletin.

Miss Augusta Mayne (to Pat Chogue, who has just tended her his seat): You have my sincere thanks, sir!

Pat Chogue: Not at all, mum; not at all. It's a dooty we owe to the sect. Some folks only does it when a lass be pretty; but I says, says I: "the sect, Pat," says I; "not the individool!"

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